OXFORD STUDIES IN BYZANTIUM

The Trophies of the Martyrs

An Art Historical Study of Early Christian Silver Reliquaries

GALIT NOGA-BANAI



OXFORD STUDIES IN BYZANTIUM

Oxford Studies in Byzantium consists of scholarly monographs and editions on the history, literature, thought, and material culture of the Byzantine world.

Basil II and the Governance of Empire (976–1025)
Catherine Holmes

Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond
Sergey A. Ivanov

A Byzantine Encyclopaedia of Horse Medicine
The Sources, Compilation, and Transmission of the *Hippiatrica*
Anne McCabe

George Akropolites: *The History*
Translated with an Introduction and Commentary by Ruth Macrides

The Trophies of the Martyrs

An Art Historical Study of Early Christian Silver Reliquaries

Galit Noga-Banai

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide in

Oxford New York

Auckland Cape Town Dar es Salaam Hong Kong Karachi
Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Nairobi
New Delhi Shanghai Taipei Toronto

With offices in

Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece
Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan Poland Portugal Singapore
South Korea Switzerland Thailand Turkey Ukraine Vietnam

Published in the United States
by Oxford University Press Inc., New York

First published 2008

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Data available

Typeset by SPI Publisher Services, Pondicherry, India
Printed in Great Britain
on acid-free paper by
Antony Rowe Ltd., Chippenham, Wiltshire

ISBN 978–0–19–921774–8

1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book has grown out of and is an elaboration of my Ph.D. dissertation; thus it has been long in the making. It is now my pleasant duty to acknowledge my many debts of gratitude to those who inspired and supported me through the twofold growing process of a student choosing academia as a profession and of a piece of research turning into a book.

In Jerusalem, with her joy and pride in the discipline, Bianca Kühnel taught me how to observe and think as an art historian and to treat visual images as evidence of no lesser degree than textual sources. From Bonn and later from Gölling, the work and advice of Josef Engemann has guided me through the multi-layer interpretation of early Christian art. In Rome, Hugo Brandenburg was extremely generous with his knowledge and time, teaching me by example to be humble and at the same time to feel fortunate in front of a work of art. Their erudition and wisdom guided me during the dissertation writing process and beyond.

Over the years I have made several study trips thanks to the generosity of the Robert H. and Clarice Smith Foundation of the Department of the History of Art at the Hebrew University. The Nathan Rotenshtreich Ph.D. grant, given by the Planning and Budgeting Committee of the Israel Council for Higher Education, made the completeness of the dissertation possible. The Romolo Deotto Prize for a Ph.D. student from the Association of the Italian Friends of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in Milan, and the Amelia Valenti Vigevani Memorial Fund supported a visit to Ravenna and Grado. A study grant from the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) gave me valuable work time in Bonn. I used the first months of the Hans Jensen Minerva Post Doctoral Fellowship of the Minerva Foundation (Max-Planck Society), to write the final version of the book.

I take this opportunity to thank the institutions, curators, and keepers who gave me access to their collections and provided me with the necessary photographs. I am grateful to the staff of the Vatican Museum, the Museum of Byzantine Culture in Thessaloniki, the Museum in Città de Castello, and Roberta Bressan in Grado. The F. J. Dölger Institute in Bonn opened its doors in the early stages of my research. I owe a large debt of thanks to Gerhard Rexin who continued to answer my overseas bibliographical inquiries with unlimited patience and kindness. I am grateful to the Roman branch of the German Archaeological Institute where I was able to study for several periods. The staff of its Photo Archives were very helpful. Based in Jerusalem, most of my work was carried out at the Mount Scopus library of the Hebrew University where

I enjoyed the generous help of Tamar Schibi. The final stages of the book were given form in Berlin. I thank Arne Effenberger who invited me to carry on my work at the Bode Museum as well as Gudrun Bühl who eased my way as a newcomer in the city and in the Stadtsbibliothek. I am deeply grateful for the hospitality of the library of the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin and the support of its staff, especially Dana Ratmann.

Teachers and colleagues at the Hebrew University have been very helpful in the research and preparation of this book. I am especially grateful to Oded Irshai who was ready to share with me his knowledge of early Christian eschatology. I benefited a great deal from the assistance of Pnina Arad with the illustrative material. Special gratitude goes to Mira Frankel Reich who revised my English and gave shape to the manuscript in such a way that I was able to follow David Jacoby's words of encouragement and submit it to Oxford University Press. Finally, I thank Cyril Mango for accepting the book for the Oxford Studies in Byzantium series, as well as the anonymous readers and the editors of the Press.

Last but not least I thank those who put up with me most continuously. All my friends are dear to me and two of them I treasure with all my heart, Rina Guth and Michal Mussachy. This book is dedicated to my dear family because without their support and love I would not have been able to accomplish anything, and everything would have been unworthy: my grandparents Ruth and Erich Josef Kahn who believed in me all the way but did not live to see this book, my wonderful parents, Michal and Isaac Noga, my sisters, Dorit and Efrat, my beloved husband Ronnie and our children, our two trophies, Yael and Itamar.

CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

COLOUR PLATES

BLACK AND WHITE PLATES

ABBREVIATIONS

AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AnTard	*Antiquité Tardive*
Arch.Anz	*Archäologische Anzeiger*
AB	*Art Bulletin*
ASR	*Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*
BAC	*Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*
BAR	*British Archaeological Reports*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CA	*Cahiers Archéologiques*
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, (15 vols., 1907–53)
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
DOS	*Dumbarton Oaks Studies*
EOMIA	*Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima. Canonum et conciliorum Graecorum interpretations Latinae*, ed. C. H. Turner, 1.2 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913)
ICUR	*Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*, est. by J. B. de Rossi and completed by A. S. Ferrua
JbAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
JdI	*Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*
JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies*
JÖBG	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
LCI	*Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*
LexMA	*Lexikon des Mittelalters*
LIMC	*Lexikon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*
MemPontAcc	*Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Memorie*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca*
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RACrist	*Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*
RBK	*Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst*
RDK	*Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*
REB	*Revue des Études Byzantines*
Rep. I	*Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage I, Rom und Ostia*, ed. F. W. Deichmann, G. Bovini, and H. Brandenburg (Wiesbaden, 1967)

Rep. II	*Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage II, Italien mit einem Nachtrag Rom und Ostia, Dalmatien, Museen der Welt*, ed. J. Dresken-Weiland (Mainz, 1996)
Rep. III	*Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage III, Frankreich Algerien Tunesien*, ed. B. Christern-Briesenick (Mainz, 2003)
RIC	*The Roman Imperial Coinage*
RivAC	*Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*
RM	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*
RQ	*Römische Quartalschrift*
TTL	*Thesaurus linguae Latinae*
ZfTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*

Introduction

> Under the lighted altar, a royal slab of purple marble covers the bones of holy men. Here God's grace sets before you the power of the apostles by the great pledges contained in this meager dust. Here lie father Andrew, the gloriously famed Luke, and Nazarius, a martyr glorious for the blood he shed; here are Protasius and his peer Gervasius, whom God made known after long ages to His servant Ambrose. One simple casket (*arcula*) embraces here his holy band, and in its tiny bosom embraces names so great.[1]

In these words written at the start of the fifth century, Paulinus of Nola describes what and how he concealed under the altar of the church he constructed in Fundi. Paulinus identifies the saints whose relics he deposited, and states the name of one of the contributors to his holy collection, Ambrose of Milan. Even more important to this book, Paulinus provides textual evidence for the use of caskets as containers of relics, i.e. reliquaries, at the turn of the century. Judging from the distribution of the Milanese relics throughout Italy and as far as Rouen, Bordeaux, and Hippo, Paulinus was not the first nor the only one to deposit relics translated to him by Ambrose.[2] Around 396 Victricius of Rouen endorsed

[1] *Ep*. 32.17 (*CSEL* 29.292–3): *Ecce sub accensis altaribus ossa piorum | Regia purpureo mamore crusta tegit. | Hic et apostolicas praesentat gratia uires | Magnis in paruo puluere pignoribus. | Hic pater Andreas et magno nomine Lucas | Martyr et inlustris sanguine Nazarius; | Quosque suo deus Ambrosio post longa reuelat | Saecula, Protasium cum pare Gerasio. | Hic simul una pium conplectitur arcula coetum | Et capit exiguo nomina tanta sinu*. Trans. P. G. Walsh, *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola*, Ancient Christian Writers, 36 (New York: Newman Press, 1967), 2. 150–1. See also H. Brandenburg, 'Altar und Grab. Zu einem Problem des Märtyrerkultes im 4. und 5. Jh.', in M. Lamberigts and P. Van Deun (eds.), *Martyrium in Multidisciplinary Perspective, Memorial Louis Reekmans* (Leuven: University Press, 1995), 81–2; D. E. Trout, *Paulinus of Nola, Life, Letters and Poems*, The Transformation of Classical Heritage, 27 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 151; T. Lehmann, *Paulinus Nolanus und die Basilica Nova in Cimitile/Nola; Studien zu einem zentralen Denkmal der spätantik-frühchristlichen Architektur*, Spätantike—Frühes Christentum—Byzanz. Kunst im ersten Jahrtausend. Studien und Perspektiven, 19 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), 191.

[2] Ambrose's active interest and involvement in the cult of relics is discussed by most writers on the early Christian period of the cult and is elaborated here in Ch. 3. See e.g., B. Kötting, *Der frühchristliche Reliquienkult und die Bestattung im Kirchengebäude*, Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 123 (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1965), 19–22; E. Dassmann, 'Ambrosius und die Märtyrer', *JbAC* 18 (1975), 49–68; P. Brown, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 36–7; N. B. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan; Church and Court in a Christian Capital*, Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 22 (Berkeley: University of California Press,

Ambrose's distributive undertaking, praising the *martyrum tropaea* he had received in a sermon composed to mark the occasion.[3]

The textual testimonies of the last quarter of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth, coincide in dating with the earliest silver reliquaries decorated with figurative themes, the subject matter of this study. It is precisely the correlation between the textual and visual evidence of the initiation of the cult of saints, that has given rise to an odd historiographical situation: contrary to the textual sources recording the rise of the cult of saints, which have been the subject of valuable scholarly activity in different disciplines,[4] the objects most intimately associated with the cult, the containers of the relics, have rarely been considered as sources reflecting their spatio-temporal environment. They have usually been taken simply as material evidence for the evolution of the cult of saints and as sources for the study of iconographical developments. Even in a recent article, where the fragmented relics are lucidly associated with the late antique aesthetic of fragmentation in poetry and in the visual arts, sarcophagi rather than reliquaries are made the test case.[5] Such lack of attention to the containers of relics may be partly due to the fact that these movable objects are mostly without secure date and provenance. It is safer to base one's conclusions on monumental art or identified textual sources. A relevant example is Michael Roberts' remarkable book on the *Liber Peristephanon* of Prudentius. This collection of poems, written towards the end of the fourth century, is read by Roberts as a substantial source from which 'the reader can understand something of what the cult of the martyrs meant to a Christian of late antiquity'.[6] The present study hopes to show that the early silver caskets are first-hand visual testimonies allowing the viewer to deepen his or her understanding of the subject. The reader may discover local and

1994), 284; See also Brandenburg, 'Altar und Grab', 83–5; R. A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 143–5.

[3] *De laude sanctorum, CCSL* 64. 53–93; The metaphor *martyrum tropaea* occurs in line 8 of the sermon's first chapter. For an introduction and a full annotated translation of the sermon into English, see G. Clark, 'Victricius of Rouen: Praising the Saints', *JECS* 7/3 (1999), 365–99; See also id., 'Translating Relics: Victricius of Rouen and Fourth-Century Debate', *Early Medieval Europe*, 10/2 (2001), 161–76; For the 'trophies' metaphor see C. Mohrmann, 'A propos de deux mots controversés de la Latinité chrétienne: tropaeum-nomen', *Vigiliae Christianae*, 8 (1954), 154–73, esp. 158–67; M. Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs; the Liber Peristephanon of Prudentius* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 170–1.

[4] The literature on the subject is vast. I will note a few basic publications; others are cited in Ch. 3: H. Delehaye, *Les Origines du culte des martyrs*, Subsidia Hagiographica, 20 (Brussels: Société des bollandistes, 1933); B. Kötting, *Der frühchristliche Reliquien*; V. Saxer, *Morts, martyrs, reliques en Afrique chrétienne aux premiers siècles* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1980); Brown, *The Cult of Saints*. For a general observation on the cult of relics beyond the late antique period, see A. Angenendt, *Heilige und Reliquien; Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Beck, 1994).

[5] P. Cox Miller, 'Differential Networks: Relics and Other Fragments in Late Antiquity', *JECS* 6/1 (1998), 113–38.

[6] Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs*, 1. For the date of the *Peristephanon*, see his introduction.

eschatological components comparable to the hagiographical texts devoted to the martyrs, and only hinted at in contemporary written ecclesiastical sources.

Minor art is usually a minor theme in the history of art. Belonging as they do to this category, the silver reliquary caskets have been looked at mostly in exhibition catalogues, where they were given a general provenance and a wide time-span.[7] In 1971 Helmut Buschhausen published a catalogue devoted to early Christian reliquaries: *Die spätrömischen Metallscrinia und frühchristlichen Reliquiare*, vol. 1: Catalogue, Wiener Byzantinische Studien, 11 (Vienna: Böhlau) (hereafter Buschhausen). This is a corpus comprising groups of caskets, among them caskets decorated with pagan subjects, caskets displaying Christian figurative themes, caskets with non-figurative ornamentation, and also some caskets made of materials other than silver, such as ivory, wood, or marble. On the face of it, such a compilation should have been an invaluable source for further research.[8] Yet, in the event, things turned out differently. Buschhausen's publication in effect blocked scholarly activity in the field for the next generation,[9] with one exception,

[7] The caskets were usually published when discovered or soon afterwards. See e.g. G. B. de Rossi, *Capsella reliquiaria Africana; omaggio della Biblioteca Vaticana a Leone XIII* (Rome: Cugiani, 1889); H. Swoboda, 'Frühchristliche Reliquiarien des K. K. Münz- und Antiken- Cabinetes', *Mitt. der K. K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der kunst- und historischen Denkmale* new ser., 16 (1890), 1–22. A rare—and also the first—study to offer a chronology of a selected group of silver vessels, including caskets, attributed to a certain geographical area is H. H. Árnason, 'Early Christian Silver of North Italy and Gaul', *AB* 20/2 (1938), 193–226. R. E. Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society in Late Antiquity; Function and Meanings of Silver Plate in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 97–110, has recently compared the silver reliquaries with liturgical vessels and lead pilgrim ampullae from Palestine, concluding among others that, unlike the ampullae, in most cases the function of the reliquary is not indicated in the decoration programme. For catalogue entries see e.g. K. Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality, Late Antique and Early Christian Art. Third to Seventh Century*, *Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Nov. 19, 1977 through Feb. 12, 1978* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979), cat. nos. 568, 571, 572; H. Beck and P. C. Bol (eds.), *Spätantike und frühes Christentum*, *Ausstellung im Liebieghaus Museum alter Plastik Frankfurt a. Main, 16.12.1983–11.3.1984* (Frankfurt a. Main: Liebieghaus, 1983), cat. nos. 171, 172; and more recently C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff (eds.), *799; Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III. In Paderborn; Katalog der Ausstellung Paderborn 1999* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1999), vol. 2, cat. nos. IX.29, IX.30; S. Tavano and G. Bergamini (eds.), *Patriarchi; Quindici secoli di civilta' fra l'Adriatico e l'Europa centrale* (Milan: Skira, 2000); A. Donati (ed.), *Pietro e Paolo; la storia, il culto, la memoria nei primi secoli* (Milan: Electa, 2000), cat. no. 77; L. Wamser (ed.), *Die Welt von Byzanz—Europa östliches Erbe, Glanz, Krisen und Fortleben einer tausendjährigen Kultur; Archäologische Staatssammlung München—Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte München, Begleitbuch zur Ausstellung vom 22.10.2004 bis 3.4.2005* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2004), cat. no. 249. Most recent and entirely devoted to reliquaries is A. Minchev *Early Christian Reliquaries from Bulgaria (4th–6th century AD)* (Varna: Izdatelska kŭshta 'Stalker', 2003).

[8] K. Wessel, Review of Buschhausen, *Oriens Christianus*, 57 (1973), 196–7.

[9] Probably because he assured his readers that a second volume would be forthcoming and that it would contain all the results of his iconographical and stylistic research 'Auf die Frage der Vorlagen, der Ikonographie und des Stil kommen wir im zweiten Teil zu sprechen' (p. 239)—as the title and the introduction (p. 9) of vol. 1 also suggest. Other scholars did not follow up the subject, although Buschhausen's work was not favourably received. His main theory (p. 15) of close relations between the Roman *scrinium* and the Christian reliquary was not accepted, nor was the early dating of the casket from Yabulkovo (Catalogue of Silver Caskets no. 5; hereafter Catalogue) which he investigated extensively, and

a monograph published by Verana Alborino on the reliquary from the church of S. Nazaro, Milan[10] (Catalogue no. 1), so far the only extensive piece of research to deal with a figurative silver reliquary from the early Christian period.[11] Alborino's iconographical analyses and stylistic comparisons led her to Milan between 374 and 386, when relics of the apostles were translated to the church of S. Nazaro.[12] Her dissertation opened the way to further investigations, encouraging the study of individual reliquaries or small groups.[13]

If we limit ourselves to the silver reliquaries decorated with Christian figurative themes, the relevant entries in Buschhausen shrink to a group of twelve. Adding four further caskets, two omitted in his catalogue and two discovered later,[14] we know of sixteen silver caskets decorated with Christian figurative themes and dated between the fourth and seventh centuries. The caskets have survived in different states, several more or less complete, some fragmentary, and others restored; they are in various sizes and decorated with various themes.[15] Three of them are marked with Byzantine control stamps and can be approximately dated.[16]

No comprehensive catalogue is envisaged here, but rather a study of a selected, representative group of figurative decorated silver caskets with Christian themes, from which conclusions may be drawn regarding other objects apparently made to be containers. Of the sixteen, four form the core of the present study, while

which helped him link the *scrinia* with the reliquaries. See the reviews by J. Engemann in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 173 (1973), 554–7, and by E. Dinkler von Schubert in *JbAC* 20 (1977), 215–23.

[10] V. Alborino, *Das Silberkästchen von San Nazaro in Mailand*, Habelts Dissertationsdrucke Reihe klassische Archäologie, 13 (Bonn: Habelt, 1981).

[11] Compare the monographs written on the ivory Lipsanotheka of Brescia (Santa Giulia) and the ivory casket from Samagher (Venice, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. no. 1925–279). The Brescia casket, perhaps due to its relatively monumental size and even more so because of its exceptional, rather enigmatic decoration programme, enjoys continuing scholarly attention. See J. Kollwitz, *Die Lipsanothek von Brescia*, Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte, 7 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter & Co., 1933); R. Delbrück, *Probleme der Lipsanothek in Brescia* (Bonn: P. Hanstein, 1952); and recently C. B. Tkacz, *The Key to the Brescia Casket: Typology and Early Christian Imagination* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), with further bibliography. For the ivory casket from Samagher see M. Guarducci, *La Capsella eburnea di Samagher. Un cimelio di arte paleocristiana nella storia del tardo Imperio* (Trieste: Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria, 1978); see also T. Buddensieg, 'Le coffret en ivoire de Pola, Saint-Pierre et le Latran', *CA* 10 (1959), 157–200; P. Künzle, 'Das Petrus Reliquiare von Samagher', *RQ* 71 (1976), 22–41; both are brought into the present study as comparative material.

[12] Alborino, *Das Silberkästchen*, 162–3.

[13] E. Thunø has recently adopted a similar approach to the reliquaries produced in early medieval Rome. See his *Image and Relic. Mediating the Sacred in Early Medieval Rome* (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 2002).

[14] The silver casket from Nubia (Catalogue no. 4), the Byzantine silver casket from Switzerland (Catalogue no. 16), the silver casket from Novalja (Catalogue no. 3), first published in 1975, the silver casket from Archar (Catalogue no. 6), first published in 2003.

[15] See the Catalogue for further details.

[16] See Ch. 3.

others figure in the comparative discussion. The four are the casket from Nea Herakleia (Catalogue no. 2), the Capsella Brivio (Catalogue no. 7), the Capsella Africana (Catalogue no. 9) and the oval casket from Grado (Catalogue no. 11). They may qualify as representatives of early Christian reliquaries for the following reasons: not only does each have a complete decoration programme, but each presents a complex of scenes or figurative motifs rather than a single image or a recurrent motif. Further, none of the four resembles any of the others in thematic content or in style, and thus may be taken to reflect different origins and dating. A point of departure combining similarities of material and supposed function together with dissimilarities in iconography and style, promises interesting and unrepetitive research, with the likelihood of broadening our picture of the medium and of building up a chronological sequence within the group of silver caskets prior to the dated Byzantine examples.

At this point it may be useful to make more explicit my presupposition concerning the caskets' purpose. Affirming their function as reliquaries depends on whether or not the same message can be read throughout the decoration programmes, based on the argument of a correlation between function and decoration. In other words, the facts that most of the caskets were found in churches, and that the general scholarly opinion is that they were made to serve as reliquaries, are not taken for granted. The study will not necessarily exclude caskets found in other contexts as potential relic containers. Two reservations can reasonably be kept in view: first, not all sixteen silver caskets were made for the same purpose; second, there is a possibility that among the caskets there may be reused containers, not originally intended as reliquaries.[17]

In analysing the four chosen caskets I have kept the following aims in mind: first of all, to decipher the images and to understand what directed the choice of scenes and symbols, some of which are combined here for the first time to our knowledge. Second, to date the four objects as accurately as possible, even though—and because—the field of early Christian minor art objects lacks a variety of securely dated objects. Third, to consider the caskets' iconographical and stylistic relations to monumental art of the same period, as this may give a good indication of the intentions of the decoration programmes and their place of origin. Fourth, to discover what message or messages the caskets transmit through their decoration programmes. Only then, after achieving results from the art history point of view, will it be possible to see how this information fits into the historical, social and theological background of the period, i.e. the cult of relics.

[17] For reused containers holding relics in churches during the Middle Ages, see A. Shalem, 'From Royal Caskets to Relic Containers: Two Ivory Caskets from Burgos and Madrid', *Muqarnas*, 12 (1995), 24–38, and id., *Islam Christianized: Islamic Portable Objects in the Medieval Church Treasuries of the Latin West*, 2nd rev. edn (Frankfurt a. Main: P. Lang, 1998), 130–1.

But the reader should take into account that this is first and foremost a study of works of art. Since early western Christian portable art in general lacks objects that are securely dated and localized, I hope that, as a result of all the above, the four caskets will offer some guidance in the field of early Christian liturgical art. In particular, determining the origin and date of silver vessels made in the western part of the empire is important, because, unlike the repertoire of silver objects in Byzantium, which includes a large number of vessels marked and dated by control stamps, the silver works produced in the west are not stamped and their chronology is not defined.[18] The only securely dated group of minor works in the west is that of the consuls' ivories of the fifth century, inscribed with the names of the consuls.[19] However, these represent a special iconography of state and a formal style that are seldom relevant to works outside the field of imperial art. In contrast, the iconography and style of the silver reliquary caskets may throw light on works of art in other media and other contexts.

The earliest caskets discussed here, that from Nea Herakleia and the Capsella Brivio, are decorated mainly with biblical scenes rather than images of saints other than the apostles. The later caskets, the Capsella Africana and the one from Grado, represent local martyrs. This distinction is reflected in the division of the study into two main chapters. In a detailed investigation of the iconography the typology of each scene or symbol participating in the programme was examined in a search for close parallels, and every image is considered in relation to the other parts of the programme. Further, to obtain a wider and better understanding of the programme, each component is compared with other appearances of the same image in various decoration schemes, representing different contexts in both minor and monumental art. However, although monumental art is important from the stylistic point of view, the stylistic comparisons are first carried out within the same medium. Moving from the narrower to the wider, the comparisons within the field of silverware go on to other caskets and to non-silver objects, and conclude with monumental art. Not all the caskets participate in

[18] For silver stamps in Byzantium see: E. Cruikshank Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps*, DOS 7 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1961); idem, 'The Location of Silver Stamping: Evidence from Newly Discovered Stamps', in S. A. Boyd and M. Mundell-Mango (eds.), *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate in Sixth-Century Byzantium, Papers of the Symposium held May 16–18, 1986 at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore and Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D. C.* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1993), 217–23; M. Mundell-Mango, 'The Purpose and Places of Byzantine Silver Stamping', in Boyd and Mango (eds.), *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate in Sixth-Century Byzantium*, 203–15.

[19] The basic work on consular diptychs is R. Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1929). See recently, G. Bühl, 'Eastern or Western?—that is the Question. Some Notes on the New Evidence Concerning the Eastern Origin of the Halberstadt Diptych', *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Partinentia*, 15 (2001), 193–203, and C. Olovsdotter, *The Consular Image: An Iconological Study of the Consular Diptychs*, BAR Int. Ser., 1376 (Oxford: J. and E. Hedges, 2005), and their relevant bibliography postdating Delbrück's book.

every stage of comparison; much depends on the characteristics of the specific style. But all are compared with monumental art, which is the most complex and most essential comparison, since it is only possible to date the minor and movable against the monumental and the stable.[20] Nevertheless, as is often the case in early Christian portable art, no single method provides answers regarding place of origin and date. Visual imagery and style have to be considered together; very often one contributes the general direction and the other gives the possible conclusion.

Chapter Three compares and combines the results of the study, discussing the application of common qualities to function, notwithstanding preliminary differences. Finally, the relationship between the visual language and the written sources—historical, theological, and liturgical—in the specific context of the cult of relics is briefly considered. This is followed by a short concluding chapter and a catalogue of the sixteen known Christian figurative silver caskets, arranged according to the chronology established in the present study and described with identifying details and bibliographical references.

[20] Unless the portable art is inscribed with a name indicating date.

This page intentionally left blank

ONE

Caskets Decorated with Biblical Scenes

A. THE CASKET FROM NEA HERAKLEIA

Two rectangular silver caskets decorated with biblical scenes and dated to the last quarter of the fourth century are known to us. One was found in the church of S. Nazaro in Milan;[1] the other was discovered near Nea Herakleia in Macedonia in 1966.[2] The two differ in size and choice of scenes, but since they share certain iconographic and stylistic elements they provide a good point of departure for our research into early Christian caskets. A monograph has been written on the casket from Milan (see Introduction); here, therefore, the discussion will focus on the casket from Nea Herakleia while the Milan casket will be considered in terms of comparison.

Consisting of two parts, body and lid, the Nea Herakleia casket is rectangular in shape and measures 12.4 × 9.7 × 10 cm. The body consists of one piece of silver leaf and carries a relief decoration on all four sides. The lid too is decorated. The artist appears to have incised the outlines, hammered the silver from within and on the outer surface worked mainly on details, gilding and polish. The casket has been restored, and is in fairly good condition, the decoration programme

[1] H. Buschhausen, *Die spätrömischen Metallscrinia und frühchristlichen Reliquiare*, vol. 1: Catalogue, Wiener byzantinische Studien, 11 (Vienna: Böhlau, 1971), cat. no. B11; V. Alborino, *Das Silberkästchen von San Nazaro in Mailand*, Habelts Dissertationsdrucke Reihe klassische Archäologie, 13 (Bonn: Habelt, 1981); G. Sena Chiesa and F. Salvazzi, 'La capsella argentea di San Nazaro. Primi risultati di una nuova indagine', *AnTard* 7 (1999), 187–204; R. E. Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society in Late Antiquity: Function and Meanings of Silver Plate in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 104–5.

[2] The casket was discovered during the construction of a new road beside the beach not far from the village of Nea Herakleia in the Halkidiki peninsula (Macedonia). M. Michaelides, *Ἄργυρα λειψανοθήκη του Μουσείου Θεσσαλονίκης Ἀρχαιολογικα Ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνων* 2,1 (1969), 48–9; M. Panayotidi commented on the iconography of the casket, and, more elaborately, on its technique, in a co-authored publication with A. Grabar, who wrote about the function of the casket and to a lesser extent about the style: 'Un Reliquaire paléochrétien récemment découvert près de Thessalonique', *CA* 24 (1975), 33–48. See also: Buschhausen, cat. no. B12; J. Christern, in B. Brenk (ed.), *Spätantike und frühes Christentum*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte Suppl., 1 (Frankfurt a. Main: Propyläen, 1977), cat. no. 168; J. Lafontaine Dosogne (ed.), *Splendeur de Byzance, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles, 2 octobre–2 décembre 1982* (Brussels: Europalia, 1982), cat. no. O.1; B. Rasmussen, 'Traditio legis?', *CA* 47 (1999), 5–37; E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou and A. Tourta (eds.), *Salonicco—Storia e Arte, Catalogo della mostra* (Athens: Archaeological Receipt Fund, 1986), 42; E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou, 'Reliquiario', in A. Donati (ed.), *Pietro e Paolo; la storia, il culto, la memoria nei primi secoli* (Milan: Electa, 2000), cat. no. 77; Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society*, 102–4.

being complete.[3] The lid displays a large Christogram formed by the Greek letters X and P with Alpha and Omega between the arms (Fig. 8); a vine pattern circles the four edges.[4] On the front, Christ, Peter, and Paul compose the *Traditio legis* scene (Fig. 1). On the sides, Daniel in the Lion's Den is on the left (below the Alpha, Fig. 9) while Moses receives the Law on the right (below the Omega, Fig. 10). The Three Young Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace are on the back (Fig. 11).

The casket's date and place of origin have not received serious discussion. Most publications considered it to be 'Theodosian' work,[5] stylistically attributed to the eastern empire.[6] It seems to me, however, that the decoration, taken as a whole, provides more than a clue to the place of origin.[7] I will argue here, through a series of thematic and stylistic comparisons, that the Thessaloniki casket may well show an eastern stylistic influence, but was most probably made in the western part of the empire, possibly in Rome, at the end of the fourth century. The 'Theodosian' style, as will be shown below, was not exclusively eastern and is well documented in the last quarter of the fourth century in the western part of the empire as well.

The Christogram with the Apocalyptic Letters

A Christogram accompanied by an Alpha and Omega, as on the Nea Herakleia lid, is a common feature in early Christian art. It can be seen in elaborated programmes as an individual element or as an attribute, or it may appear as a distinct subject. The parallels cited here are chosen for their independence or because they occupy an individual space, i.e. are central motifs, as in our casket, and not subordinate elements in a whole. Although representations of a Christogram with the apocalyptic letters occur in various media, such as a silver ampulla

[3] The lid is damaged. Only fragments of the frame survive and pieces of silver are missing from the Christogram on the surface, especially around the head of the letter ρ, which is barely traceable. The condition of the body is good. The front and back are almost intact. The side walls were broken and glued back together during restoration. Some bits are missing: Moses' face and a piece above his head, a piece above Daniel's head, the hindquarters and tail of the lion on Daniel's left. There is a simple latch on the side representing Daniel, and two hinges on the back.

[4] In the present state of the lid it is not possible to tell whether the ρ was open or closed.

[5] For this problematic definition see below the discussion on style.

[6] Panayotidi and Grabar, 'Un Reliquaire', 42; Christern in Brenk (ed.), *Spätantike*, cat. no. 168.

[7] Grabar, 'Un Reliquaire', 40, devotes only one paragraph to the casket's iconography (I quote in full): 'Aucune des quatre scènes représentées sur le coffret de Thessalonique ne présentent de particularités iconographiques notables. Toutes adoptent les versions les plus concises des sujets qu'elles traitent et qui ne permettent pas, nous semble-t-il, de reconnaître des traditions iconographiques particulières, par exemple, propres à une région, ou à une époque déterminée. La composition du Christ donnant la Loi, nous l'avons rappelé, apparaît dans la deuxième moitié du IV siècle et reste fréquente pendant un siècle environ. Au point de vue de l'iconographie, c'est l'époque à laquelle appartient notre coffret. Le chrismon du couvercle trouve les meilleures analogies sur les petits reliquaires de cette même période.' Christern supports Grabar's conclusion concerning the casket's conventional iconography.

from Ténès[8] or a marble plate from Lugo,[9] I will confine myself to examples from the medium of silver caskets.

In at least two instances the Christogram either dominates the surface of an entire side or decorates it independently. In spite of the slight difference in dimensions, a good parallel exists on the front of a small silver gilded cubic casket in Sofia, dated between the second half of the fourth and the begining of the fifth century. The casket was found in a grave near the south east corner, beside the apse of the first church of S. Sophia (Fig. 12).[10] The Christogram dominates the field and the apocalyptic letters are placed exactly as in Thessaloniki. On the back of the Sofia casket, opposite the Christogram, is a cross monogram with the letters Alpha and Omega under the horizontal arms. The lateral panels are decorated with floral motifs and the lid displays a double cross of floral and plain diagonal arms meeting in the centre, marked by a flower. The crosses on the back and lid are on an axis with the Christogram.

A small cubic casket in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore also bears a Christogram on the lid.[11] Here the symbol is set in a quatrefoil border. The Alpha and Omega are lacking, but the importance of the Christogram is enhanced by its being repeated on the front of the body. There it is larger and is surrounded by two simple lines forming a thin frame. The other sides of the casket are ornately decorated with geometrical or foliated patterns: overlapping octagons formed by hexagons and squares, radiating acanthus leaves and quatrefoils. The front panel with the Christogram is the only one to have a single symbolic motif, within an empty space, indicating that this was in fact the front, under the Christogram of the lid. Only the Christograms were gilded, while the rest of the decoration was inlaid with niello.[12]

Another small silver casket, dated to the beginning of the fifth century, may again be relevant to our purpose. This is the silver reliquary which was inside a

[8] Algiers, Musée National des Antiquités Classiques et Musulmanes. J. Heurgon, *Le Trésor de Ténès* (Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques, 1958), 51–5; F. Baratte, 'La vaisselle d'argent dans l'Afrique romaine et byzantine', *AnTard* 5 (1997), 111–32, fig. 12; F. Baratte, J. Lang, S. La Niece, and C. Metzger, *Le Trésor de Carthage: Contribution à l'étude de l'orfèvrerie de l'Antiquité tardive* (Paris: CNRS, 2002), fig. 81.

[9] Lugo, Museo Diocesano e Cathedralicio; H. Schlunk, 'Tischplatte', in Brenk, ed., *Spätantike*, cat. no. 326.

[10] Sofia, National Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 90; 8 × 8 × 7 cm; Buschhausen, cat. no. C2, with extensive bibliography. A. Minchev, *Early Christian Reliquaries from Bulgaria (4th–6th century* AD*)* (Varna: Izdatelska kŭshta 'Stalker', 2003), cat. No. 22. When discovered, the casket contained remnants of decayed cloth and three copper coins, most likely of the mid-4th cent. The casket can be stylistically associated with silver work done in what is now Serbia (the workshops of Naissus and Sirmium), see I. Popović, 'Les productions officielles et privées des ateliers d'orfèvrerie de Naissus et de Sirmium', *AnTard* 5 (1997), 133–44.

[11] Inv. no. 57.638; 6.5 × 6.5 × 6.9 cm; Buschhausen, cat. no. C4 with extensive bibliography; M. Mundell-Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium. The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures* (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1986), 114–17, cat. no. 17, suggests an early 5th-cent. date.

[12] Mundell-Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium*, 114.

portable altar found in an altar grave at the church of St Lorenz, near Paspels, in Switzerland (Fig. 2).[13] The casket is decorated with twelve medallions, four on the lid and two on each side, alternately containing a cross or a Christogram with Alpha and Omega, so that every side has one representation of each symbol, while the lid has two of each. The pattern is enriched by the varied techniques used by the artist. The letters of the Christograms, Alphas and Omegas are engraved on a gilded surface, while the gilded crosses are set against a punched background.

The apocalyptic letters appear on the lid of another silver casket, found inside an altar in the church of SS. Andrea and Donato, Rimini.[14] The small rectangular casket, with a flat lid, is decorated with a cross on each side; the cross on the lid is flanked by Alpha and Omega. Although here the two letters do not accompany a chrismon, they have an element in common with the casket from Nea Herakleia—their location on the lid.

In three of these four silver reliquaries, the Christogram is emphasized within the decoration programme through isolation, location on the lid or the front, repetition, gilding or a distinctive background. The apocalyptic letters accompany the Christogram in two out of these three instances and appear next to a cross on the fourth. The prominent role which the group of Christogram and apocalyptic letters plays in these caskets, as well as its centrality, echoes the Christogram on the casket in Thessaloniki. In addition, its being the only symbolic motif in a geometrical or foliated decoration, as in Sofia or Baltimore, echoes the situation of the Christogram in the Nea Herakleia casket, where it is the only symbolic motif among figurative scenes. All the means used to emphasize the Christogram in these decoration programmes show that it, especially in combination with the Alpha and Omega, is significant in this medium.[15]

The sign of the Christogram is fundamental to the understanding of the development of Christian art and its imperial precedents. Known as 'Constantine's Labarum', it underwent an interesting process—from signifying the triumph of the Christian emperor to signifying more strongly the triumph of Christ.[16] The first representations of the Christogram in a Christian funerary

[13] W. F. Volbach, 'Silber-, Zinn- und Holzgegenstände aus der Kirche St. Lorenz bei Paspels', *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, 23 (1963/4), 75–82; Buschhausen, cat. no. C5. The St Lorenz Treasure is kept in the Cathedral Treasury of Chur.

[14] Buschhausen, cat. no. C7 with earlier bibliography.

[15] See discussion in Ch. 3.

[16] E. Dinkler, 'Das Kreuz als Siegeszeichen', *ZTK* 62 (1965), 3–20; A. Lipinski, s.v. 'Labarum', *LCI* 3 (1971, repr. 1990), 1; E. Dinkler von Schubert, s.v. 'Tropaion', *LCI* 4 (1971, repr. 1990), 361–3; For 'Constantine's Labarum' see A. Alföldi, 'The Helmet of Constantine with the Christian Monogram', *JRS* 22 (1932), 9–23; id., 'Hoc signo victor eris', in T. Klauser and A. Rücker (eds.), *Pisciculi; studien zur religion und kultur des altertums, Franz Joseph Dölger zum sechzigsten geburtstage dargeboten von freunden, verehrern und schülern*, Antike und Christentum Suppl., 1 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1939), 1–18. For the Christogram halo see

context rather than an imperial one are found on the Roman columnar sarcophagi known as the Passion sarcophagi, from the middle of the fourth century.[17] In Vatican lat. 171, for instance, the Christogram is set within a laurel wreath over a monumental cross, standing between two columns under a gabled arch. The wreath is held up by two doves perched on the horizontal arms of the cross. Below, the two soldiers guarding Christ's grave are asleep, and above the arch appear sun and moon personifications, evoking eternity and cosmic universality.[18] The central group of the sarcophagus decoration programme, containing the Christogram, symbolizes Christ's resurrection.[19] This combination of motifs appears again on Roman sarcophagi from the end of the fourth/early fifth century.[20] Here, the flanking images are not Passion scenes but rather rows of figures acclaiming the Resurrection group, suggesting that the centrally located Christogram is more than the sign of Christ's triumph over death. The acclamation may refer both to Christ's triumph and his advent and the symbol could thus be the *praecursor christi* (Rev. 7: 2; Matthew 24: 30; Apocalypse of Peter 1). This might explain why the sign of the Christogram later came to be accompanied by the apocalyptic letters and how these emerged as common elements in the decoration of our caskets. It might also be the reason for the often multiple appearance of the Christogram on the sarcophagi in Ravenna.[21] Here the Christogram is often accompanied by celestial elements such as peacocks, palm trees, and the letters Alpha and Omega. Its double appearance on the Isaac sarcophagus from S. Vitale, dated to the beginning of the fifth century,[22] supports the understanding of the Christogram as symbolizing the precursor of Christ: it is seen in the halo of the Christ child in the Adoration of the Magi decorating the

E. Weigand, 'Zum Denkmälerkreis des Christogrammnimbus', *BZ* 32 (1932), 63–81, and recently A. Arbeiter, 'Der Kaiser mit dem Christogrammnimbus zur silbernen Largitionsschale Valentinians in Genf', *AnTard* 5 (1997), 153–67.

[17] Vatican Museo Pio Cristiano, Lat. 171 and Lat. 164, *Rep. I*, nos. 49, 61; the sarcophagus of Julia Latronilla in the Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem (formerly in Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum), *Rep. II*, no. 102. See also B. Brenk, 'The Imperial Heritage of Early Christian Art', in K. Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality, A Symposium* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 39–52, fig. 8.

[18] A. Grabar, 'Un Médaillon en or provenant de Marsine en Cilicie', *DOP* 6 (1951), 27–49, esp. 41–5; Dinkler, 'Das Kreuz als Siegeszeichen', 4–5.

[19] E. Dinkler and E. Dinkler von Schubert, s.v. 'Kreuz I', *RBK* 5 (1995), 60.

[20] *Rep. I*, no. 175: the wreath with the Christogram is placed over a cross in the centre of a frieze sarcophagus. The two soldiers are seated under the horizontal arms of the cross. This central group is flanked by twelve apostles standing in an acclamation pose; *Rep. I*, no. 59: a fragment of a column sarcophagus. In the central niche the Christogram is placed over a crux gemmata, supported by two eagles. Two soldiers flanking the cross and apostles holding wreaths stand on either side of the central niche; *Rep. I*, no. 208 (as no. 59).

[21] J. Kollwitz and H. Herdejürgen, *Die Ravennatischen Sarkophage*, Die Sarkophage der westlichen Gebiete des Imperium Romanum, 2 (Berlin: Mann, 1979), cat. nos. B5, B6, B9, B10, B11, B12, B13, B14, B15, B16, B18, B19.

[22] Ibid., cat. no. B3; *Rep. II*, no. 378.

front of the sarcophagus, and again on the back panel, flanked by peacocks and palm trees. Here the analogy between the Epiphany of Christ and his second coming is clear.

In the Nea Herakleia casket the Christogram is not accompanied by peacocks and palm trees, but rather by the two apocalyptic letters which recall Christ's promise to return and reward the righteous and the true believers: 'I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty.'[23] The Alpha and Omega testify to the celestial character of the cross and its apocalyptic connotation.[24] Together, the Christogram and the apocalyptic letters on the lid crown the casket with a perpetual, timeless promise of Christ's return. The rest of the decoration programme shows that this was indeed the intention of the artist in placing such a symbolic composition on the lid of the casket.

Before we discuss the imagery on the body of the casket, the vine scroll motif circling the lid should be noted. Owing to its fragmentary state, it is not possible to determine whether the scroll was designed to emerge from some kind of a vessel, as on the sarcophagus fragment in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Fig. 13).[25] There the scroll springs out of a chalice above Christ's head, perhaps with reference to John 15: 1: 'I am the true vine.' It seems quite plausible, however, that the vine scroll motif was a customary decorative pattern used for frames and borders, and whether or not there was a chalice would not really affect the overall programme.[26]

The Traditio legis *and Moses Receiving the Law*

The decoration on the casket's body can be divided into two parts. There are two scenes whose theme is the Law and two scenes from the Book of Daniel evoking rescue and salvation from death. Since the *Traditio legis* is prominently displayed on the front panel, I shall discuss the pair of Law scenes first.

The depiction of the *Traditio legis* contains the essential and permanent three participants (Fig. 1): Christ stands in the middle, his right hand raised in a speaking–blessing gesture, while his left hand holds an open scroll. He turns his head a little to the side, in the same direction as his raised hand. Peter, in semi-*proskynesis* pose, is seen in full profile on Christ's left. In his left arm he cradles a

[23] Rev. 1: 8. See also 21: 6 and 22: 13.

[24] E. Lohmeyer, s.v. 'A und O', *RAC* 1 (1950), 1–4.

[25] Acc. no. 48.76.2; B. Brenk, 'Ein Scheinsarkophag im Metropolitan Museum in New York', in V. Milojcic (ed.), *Kolloquium über spätantike und frühmittelalterliche Skulptur* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1970), 2. 43–53; *Rep. II*, no. 131.

[26] The vine scroll may appear for purely decorative purposes, as on the bronze bucket from the Museo Sacro in the Vatican (Inv. no. 60846), Donati (ed.), *Pietro e Paolo*, cat. no. 75, and the Proiecta casket in the British Museum, here figs. 32, 33 which also shares stylistic elements with the casket from Nea Herakleia; see below section on the Roman context.

long staurogram which leans on his left shoulder, while his left hand reaches towards the open scroll that Christ is grasping. On the other side of Christ stands Paul in three-quarter view. He holds a closed scroll in his right hand, while his left is raised towards Christ's hand. His head turns in the same direction in full profile. All three are wearing tunics and palli, and are barefoot.

The extant early representations of the *Traditio legis* include varying details in addition to the three necessary participants, arranged in a representative format. The scene is recorded in various media and contexts; funerary art (for instance a sarcophagus from the catacombs of S. Sebastiano, Rome, dated *c*.375);[27] liturgical spaces (for instance the baptistery in Naples of the end of the fourth century, Fig. 14)[28] and also in portable art. The composition appears on caskets of various materials: the front of the Nea Herakleia silver casket, the lid of the ivory casket from Samagher, now in Venice (Fig. 15),[29] and the front of a marble casket in Ravenna (Fig. 16).[30] In all three the scene is assigned a prominent role within the decoration programme.

The closest parallel to the Nea Herakleia depiction, consisting of the three figures only, occurs on the front of a rectangular marble casket today in the Archiepiscopal Museum in Ravenna. The so-called reliquary of SS. Julitta and Quiricus was most likely produced in North Italy and is dated to the beginning of the fifth century.[31] Christ stands in the middle of the composition. The details of his face have not survived, but the hairline shows that he was looking forward. His right hand is raised in a speech gesture, the left hand holds an open scroll. On his left Peter bows down to receive the scroll with covered hands,[32] on his right

[27] *Rep. I*, no. 200; J. Engemann, *Deutung und Bedeutung frühchristlicher Bildwerke* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1997), fig. 62.

[28] J.-L. Maier, *Le Baptistère de Naples et ses mosaïques, étude historique et iconographique*, Paradosis, 19 (Fribourg: Éditions universitaires, 1964), pl. VIII; Engemann, *Deutung und Bedeutung*, fig. 63.

[29] Venice, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. no. 1925–279; T. Buddensieg, 'Le coffret en ivoire de Pola, Saint-Pierre et le Latran', *CA* 10 (1959), 157–200; W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1976), cat. no. 120; P. Künzle, 'Das Petrus Reliquiare von Samagher', *RQ* 71 (1976), 22–41; M. Guarducci, *La Capsella eburnaea di Samagher. Un cimelio di arte paleocristiana nella storia del tardo Imperio* (Trieste: Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria, 1978); G. Bühl, 'Kästchen von Samagher', in C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff (eds.), *799; Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III. In Paderborn; Katalog der Ausstellung Paderborn 1999* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1999), 2. 614, cat. no. IX.5.

[30] See next note.

[31] R. Bartoccini, 'Una capsella marmoreal cristina rinventura in Ravenna', *Felix Ravenna*, 35 (1930), 21–33; M. Lawrence, *The Sarcophagi of Ravenna* (New York: College Art Association of America, 1945), figs. 49–51; F. W. Deichmann, *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, vol. 1: *Geschichte und Monumente* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1969), 75, 88, fig. 123 (first half of 5th cent.); W. N. Schumacher, 'Dominus legem dat', *RQ* 54 (1959), 23–6; Buschhausen, cat. no. C37.

[32] For the introduction of the veiled hands in early Christian representations under the influence of court ceremonies and imperial art see: Schumacher, 'Dominus legem dat', 7 and J. Engemann, 'Ein Missorium des Anastasius, Überlegungen zum ikonographischen Programm der "Anastasius"—Platte

Paul stands in three-quarter view, his face in profile, raising his right hand in answer to Christ's hand. There are no additional details. Not only is the *Traditio legis* located on the front panel in both caskets, but it is the only non-biblical scene in the decoration programme. The other sides of the marble reliquary display the Adoration of the Magi, Daniel in the Lions' Den, and the Ascension of Christ (Figs. 17, 18, 19).[33] As compared with the Nea Herakleia depiction, one detail is lacking in the Ravenna casket, the staurogram staff on Peter's shoulder.

In the earliest representations of the scene Peter usually holds a long cross rather than a long staurogram. However, in one monumental example, the mosaic of the S. Giovanni in Fonte baptistery in Naples (*c.*400), he is shown holding a staurogram (Fig. 14). Since that *Traditio legis* is *in situ*, it is important in discussing our casket, for the mosaic in Naples shows that the figure of Peter with the long staurogram was already present at the end of the fourth century.[34] The appearance in Naples contributes to the interpretation of the scene in general, since here we have a monumental instance where the open scroll in Christ's hand is inscribed with the phrase *dominus legem dat*.[35] However, unlike the depiction in Nea Herakleia, Christ stands on a globe; there were also two palm trees flanking the figures of which only one has survived, on Christ's left.

Two details in the *Traditio legis* of the Nea Herakleia casket which can be placed beside other representations are the staurogram and the minimalist way in which the artist depicts the scene. One of these elements (the staurogram) exists in Naples, the other (minimalism) characterizes the reliquary in Ravenna. Both depictions, notwithstanding their different location and dimensions, belong to the same artistic phase, the end of the fourth/beginning of the fifth century. Only the mosaic's place of origin is certain, and it may provide a clue to the western origin of the casket from Nea Herakleia.

The full meaning of the *Traditio legis* scene is probably one of the least decided questions in the historiography of early Christian art; the debate still continues

aus dem Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial', in M. Restle (ed.), *Festschrift für K. Wessel zum 70. Geburtstag* (Munich: Ed. Maris, 1988), 108–9; J. G. Deckers, 'Vom Denker zum Diener, Bemerkungen zu den Folgen der konstantinischen Wende im Spiegel der Sarkophagplastik', in B. Brenk (ed.), *Innovation in der Spätantike. Kolloquium Basel 6. und 7. Mai 1994* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1996), 149–51.

[33] The lid of the Ravenna casket is missing, but it could well have been decorated by a cross with an Alpha and Omega. See the discussion of the decoration programme below. For further discussion of the iconography of the marble reliquary and especially the Ascension scene see section B in this chapter.

[34] In the early 5th cent. Peter is represented holding a staurogram in a *Traditio legis* scene on a sarcophagus made in Arles, today in Saint Trophime Cathedral. *Rep. III*, no. 120. In the first quarter of the 5th cent. Peter holds a long staurogram beside a *Maiestas Domini* scene on a sarcophagus from Marseille. See *Rep. III*, no. 302.

[35] J. Wilpert and W. N. Schumacher, *Die römischen Mosaiken der Kirchlichen Bauten vom IV.–XIII. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg: Herder, 1976), pl. 11. The inscription on the scroll in the S. Costanza *Traditio legis* representation is 'DOMINUS PACEM DAT'. However, it is restored, and probably altered from the original. See D. Stanley, 'The Apse Mosaics at S. Constanza', *RM* 94 (1987), 32 and 38.

today.[36] Without a text to provide a source, we have to look for the meaning of the scene by considering the details, the range of representations, their placing, and the context in which they appear. The location under a large Christogram and the apocalyptic letters might direct the viewer towards an additional level of interpretation, developing the view proposed by various scholars that the Christ of the *Traditio legis* is represented after the Resurrection.[37] Celestial details such as the globe under Christ's feet in Naples or the four rivers in the Samagher casket, the flanking palm trees in many depictions, or even the clouds on which Christ appears, as in the mosaic of S. Costanza (Rev. 1: 7),[38] all support the view

[36] For a short account of the historiography of the scene see G. Hellemo, *Adventus Domini. Eschatological Thought in 4th-Century Apses and Catecheses*, Vigiliae Christianae Suppl., 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 75–77. Unlike biblical or historical scenes, in which a specific story is illustrated, the *Traditio legis* image is not supported by a direct textual source. In S. Giovanni in Fonte an inscription reading *dominus legem dat* accompanies the scene, but a textual source has not yet been found. Engemann, *Deutung und Bedeutung*, 76–7, points out that even without a textual source the scene can be at least partly deciphered. The identity of the three figures is clear, as well as the act of giving. Still, not having a text to rely on has long preoccupied scholars. Most writers have tried to interpret the scene according to precedents in Roman imperial art, saying that this representational composition reflects a court ceremony of appointing a dignitary or of addressing an audience. However, the analogy raises at least three problems: in most representations of the scene Christ is standing, while in court ceremonies the ruler is supposed to be seated (Schumacher, 'Dominus legem dat', 2–8; Hellemo, *Adventus Domini*, 71). Also, the giving act in these ceremonies is performed with the right hand, not with the left as in the *Traditio*, and the dignitary or honorary place is to the right of the ruler (Christ), where Paul is standing, rather than Peter, who actually receives the scroll. It is not impossible to reach conclusions from the representations themselves. Indeed, Engemann challenges the three difficulties listed above by saying, first of all, that the lack of a textual and accurate description makes the depiction of the *Traditio legis* an allegory, not a picture of a real act of giving. Thus, Christ can speak standing, raise his right hand in a speech or triumphal gesture, and perform the giving act with his left hand. In examining depictions of the scene within their contexts, Engemann shows how, if seen as an allegory, the details may change according to local preferences, as in the Ravenna representations. The earliest Ravenna sarcophagus with a depiction of the scene, dated to the beginning of the fifth century, depicts the giving of the law to Peter, who stands to Christ's left; Kollwitz and Herderjürgen, *Die Ravennatische Sarkophage*, cat. no. B4. Later Ravennate depictions show Paul receiving the law, standing in the place of honour to the right of the seated Christ. Christ does not raise his hand in speech, but rather gives the law with his right hand while his left hand rests on his lap, holding his pallium (ibid., cat. nos. B6, B7, B8). Not only can we observe flexibility in adapting roles and positions for local reasons, but the examples from Ravenna also reinforce the theory that the presentation of the law to Peter is an image of Roman origin. As in the casket from Nea Herakleia, the Roman examples represent Christ bestowing a scroll on Peter, and to emphasize this act Christ stands upright, in a speaking position, often also with the triumphal gesture of a raised hand, the 'sol-gestus'. (Schumacher, 'Dominus legem dat', 5 and idem, s. v. '*Traditio legis*', *LCI* 4 (1972, repr. 1990), 347–51; Cf. Hellemo, *Adventus Domini*, 73 and Engemann, *Deutung und Bedeutung*, 77–8).

[37] Schumacher, 'Dominus legem dat', 22; Nikolasch, F., 'Zur Deutung der Dominus-legem-dat Szene', *RQ* 64 (1969), 35–73.

[38] Wilpert and Schumacher, *Die römischen Mosaiken*, 46–58 and 299–302; A. A. Amadio, *I mosaici di S. Costanza disegni, incisioni e documenti dal XV al XIX secolo*, Xenia Quaderni, 7 (Rome: De Luca, 1986); Stanley, 'The Apse Mosaics at S. Constanza', 29–42 (early 5th cent.). The date of the mosaic is probably mid-4th cent. See H. Brandenburg, *Die Frühchristlichen Kirchen in Rom vom 4. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert. Der Beginn der abenländischen Kirchenbaukunst* (Regensburg: Schnell u. Steiner, 2004), 69–86.

that the Christ of the *Traditio legis* is seen after the Resurrection, and most probably indicates the second coming. Thus, the allegorical scene may be related to the eschatological future.[39]

The fact that none of these celestial or eschatological details figure in the *Traditio legis* on the casket from Nea Herakleia, does not really affect the issue since the representation is in any case allegorical. Moreover, placing the scene under the Christogram points in the eschatological direction. This layout has a parallel in monumental art, as in S. Giovanni in Fonte in Naples. As seen above, the *Traditio legis* in the dome depicts Christ standing on a globe and Peter holding a staurogram. The group is placed in the drum, under the monogram of Christ accompanied by the apocalyptic letters in the peak, within a large medallion surrounded by stars. The medallion is filled with celestial birds, flowers and trees and also contains a phoenix (Fig. 20). The location of the monogram above the scenes in the drum recalls the location of the Christogram on the lid of the casket. The apocalyptic letters, the stars and the phoenix together with the monogram—all suggest a representation of the *praecursor* cross and an allusion to eschatological time.[40] This could have been the aim in Nea Herakleia as well, and, as we will show, the rest of the decoration programme supports this view. A variant of this combination, the three figures (Christ, Peter, and Paul) under a monumental crux gemmata, appears on the oval silver casket from Grado (see Ch. 3).

Peter's predominant position within the *Traditio legis* composition is visualized not only by his being the receiver of the Law but also by his being the bearer of the staurogram cross, signifying him as a martyr and the leading missionary of the church (Matthew 10: 38; Mark, 8: 34).[41] His pre-eminence in the scene and the

[39] Y. Christe, 'Apocalypse et "*Traditio legis*"', *RQ* 71 (1976), 42–55, argues that these are simply apocalyptic motifs without eschatological applications.

[40] E. Stommel, '*Σημειον ἐκπετάσεως* (Didache 16,6)', *RQ* 48 (1953), 39, compared the Christogram in Naples with the one in the vault of the baptistery in Albenga (fig. 77), and concluded that both represent the *praecursor* cross (the sign in Albenga perhaps reflects the story of the Pons Milvius as written by Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, 1. 31, and the sign in Naples might represent the sign in the same story as told by Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, 44). However, Stommel was criticized by F. W. Deichmann, 'Zur Bedeutung des Christogramm-Kreuzes im Baptisterium von Neapel', *BZ* 61 (1965), 302, who agreed with this interpretation concerning Albenga, but refused it for Naples, since in Naples the sign is a Staurogram, thus + and ρ rather than χ and ρ, identified as Constantine's *signum Dei*. I tend to agree with Stommel since it seems to me that the two signs play the same role in the visual representations. Even a plain cross can sometimes represent the precursor cross, as for instance the cross in the representation of Christ's second coming on the wooden doors of S. Sabina in Rome, E. H. Kantorowicz, 'The "Kings Advent" and the enigmatic panels in the doors of Santa Sabina', *AB* 26 (1944), 207–31, fig. 41. For the argument about Constantine's labarum, see Dinkler and Dinkler von Schubert, s.v. 'Kreuz I', 39–40. For the different shapes of the Christ monogram see W. Kellner, s.v. 'Christusmonogramm', *LCI* 1 (1974, repr. 1990), 456–8; H. Feldbusch, s.v. 'Christusmonogramm', *RDK* 3 (1954), 707–20, and Dinkler and Dinkler von Schubert, s.v. 'Kreuz I', 25–8.

[41] S. Heid, '*Vexillum Crucis*. Das Kreuz als Religions-, Missions- und Imperialsymbol in der frühen Kirche', *RivAC* 78 (2002), 191–259, esp. 204–9.

relatively many representations in Roman art have caused scholars to think that the *Traditio legis* is of Roman origin. In the ivory casket from Samagher, whose lid shows the *Traditio legis*, the back panel represents a liturgical ceremony taking place in what is thought to be the shrine of the apostle in the old S. Pietro church. The combination supports the notion of Roman origin.[42] Moreover, the appearance of the scene in different Roman-made media, and in the Samagher casket, has led to the supposition that the apse of the commemoration church of S. Pietro displayed a *Traditio legis*.[43] Such a celebrated work must have been copied, as the minor art objects suggest.[44] In the casket from Nea Herakleia the superiority of Peter in the *Traditio legis* is further emphasized, as will be shown immediately, by the location of the scene next to Moses Receiving the Law.

The scene of Moses Receiving the Law comprises three motifs (Fig. 10): Moses, the hand of God holding the scroll, and the mountain. Moses in full profile leans forward diagonally, his arms raised to receive the scroll being given to him by God's hand. Moses is barefoot. He wears a pallium falling in fan-shaped folds that cover his body and hands. The upper part of the damaged head has survived. The hair is thick and dressed in flat curls, growing low on the forehead and around the ear. The lower part of the face is illegible. A slight indication of a beard remains, as well as the corner of the right eye. The rocky mountain is shaped like a right-angled triangle whose hypotenuse is parallel with the diagonal line of Moses' pallium.

[42] Buddensieg, 'Le coffret en ivoire de Pola'; Gaurducci, *La Capsella eburnaea di Samagher*; A. Arbeiter, *Alt-St. Peter in Geschichte und Wissenschaft* (Berlin: Mann, 1988), 166–81; Bühl, 'Kästchen von Samagher', 614.

[43] Reconstructions have been based on the Samagher casket and on drawings of the medieval apse mosaic of S. Pietro (Tasseli-Grimaldi, *Album di San Pietro*, Città del Vaticano, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. A 64 ter., c. 50r), dated to Pope Innocent III. See Arbeiter, *Alt-St. Peter*, 167–80 (for the reconstruction of the apostle shrine) and H. L. Kessler, 'La decorazione della Basilica di San Pietro', in M. D'Onofrio, *Romei e Jubilei il pellegrinaggio medievalea San Pietro (350–1350), Roma, Palazzo Venezia 29 ottobre 1999–26 febbraio 2000* (Milan: Electa, 1999), 263–70, a Grimaldi drawing on p. 265; W. N. Schumacher, 'Eine römische Apsiskomposition', *RQ* 54 (1959), 137–202, pl. 22,1 reconstructed the apse with a *Traditio legis* in the lower zone. Others have thought the scene was located in the central zone of the apse. See Wilpert and Schumacher, *Die römischen Mosaiken*, 11. Cf. R. Wisskirchen and S. Heid, 'Der Prototyp des Lämmerfrieses in Alt-St. Peter. Ikonographie und Ikonologie', in *Tesserae, Festschrift für J. Engemann*, JbAC Suppl., 18 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1991), 138–60.

[44] This supposition has met with some disagreement. F. Gerke in Kunstchronik, 7 (1954), 95 f., for instance, thinks the apse was decorated with a *Maiestas Domini*. In response, Engemann, *Deutung und Bedeutung*, 78, shows how the matter of the honorary place is relevant to the question of the scene's origin as well. In monumental representations in Rome, where Christ is flanked by Peter and Paul but there is no suggestion of giving the law, Peter still stands on Christ's left. Such is also the case on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (mid-4th cent.), in the 6th-cent. apse mosaic of SS. Cosma e Damiano, and even later (apse mosaic of S. Prassede). See R. Wisskirchen, *Das Mosaikprogramm von S. Prassede in Rom; Ikonographie und Ikonologie*, JbAC Suppl., 17 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1990), fig. 2a (SS. Cosma e Damiano) and fig. 53 (S. Prassede). Thus, the place assigned to Peter could well attest a local tradition, based on an important and prestigious place, the memorial church and grave of the saint.

Like the other biblical scenes in the decoration programme, Moses Receiving the Law has a long tradition of representation in funerary art, especially on sarcophagi.[45] The details of the scene as they appear on the casket are partly in accord with some of the early Christian representations, but not in complete agreement with the biblical text. In the book of Exodus, after climbing Mt. Sinai Moses receives the laws written on stone tablets (31: 18), and after he breaks the first set (32: 19), he prepares other stone tablets and carves the laws on them himself, according to God's instructions (34: 28). Indeed, on the casket, Moses stands next to a mountain.[46] However, the relief displays the hand of God holding a scroll rather than tablets.[47]

The scroll handed to Moses replaces the square tablets of the text and of earlier representations of the scene, as in the wall paintings of the Dura Europos synagogue,[48] and in most sarcophagi of the first and second third of the fourth century.[49] For instance, on a sarcophagus from Trinquetaille (now in Arles) dated to 325, Moses is seen receiving tablets carved with a Christogram (Fig. 21).[50] However, in the wall paintings of the catacombs at Via Latina, dated to 350–400,[51] on the Roman City-Gate sarcophagus of the late fourth century in Ancona (Fig. 22),[52] and on the late fourth/beginning of the fifth century Roman City-Gate sarcophagus in S. Giovanni in Valle in Verona,[53] Moses receives a scroll, as also on the sarcophagus fragment from Constantinople, today in Berlin, dated to the first half of the fifth century.[54] Outside

[45] H. Schlosser, s.v. 'Moses', *LCI* 3 (1974, repr. 1990), 282–97.

[46] As opposed to representations where there is no mountain, e.g. the wall painting of Dura Europos: K. Weitzmann and H. Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art*, DOS 28 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990), fig. 74.

[47] I have discussed the question of the representation of Moses Receiving the Law as a scroll on late 4th-century. Roman sarcophagi in 'Visual Prototype Versus Biblical Text: Moses Receiving the Law in Rome', in H. Brandenburg, F. Bisconti (eds.), *Sarcofagi tardoantichi, paleocristiani ed altomedioevali*, Monumenti di antichità cristiana 2nd ser., 18 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 2003), 175–85. My conclusions regarding the scroll's appearance on sarcophagi are relevant to the Nea Herakleia casket and to other media of the same period, as we shall see below.

[48] Weitzmann and Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue*, 52–5, fig. 74.

[49] *Rep. I*, nos. 39, 188, 694, 771, 772.

[50] Arles, Musée de l'Arles et de la Provence antiques, Inv. PAP.7400.1–5; *Rep. III*, no. 38.

[51] L. Kötzsche-Breitenbruch, *Die neue Katakombe an der Via Latina in Rom, Untersuchungen zur Ikonographie der alttestamentlichen Wandmalereien*, JbAC Suppl., 4 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1976), 80, pl. 18c; W. Tronzo, *The Via Latina Catacomb: Imitation and Discontinuity in Fourth-Century Roman Painting* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986), fig. 5.

[52] Museo Diocesano; *Rep II*. no. 149, pls. 58. 59.1–2. 1.

[53] *Rep. II*. no. 152, pl. 64.

[54] Berlin Staatliche Museen, Inv. no. 1796; *Rep. II*, no. 415; A. Effenberger, 'Das Berliner Mosesrelief. Fragment einer Scheinsarkophag-Front', in G. Koch (ed.), *Grabeskunst der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1993), 237–59. The relief shares other elements with the casket: Moses, in full profile, leans slightly towards the mountain while his hands reach up for the scroll. His body, covered by the pallium in large diagonally curved folds, and his veiled hands, follow the line of the mountain slope (for veiled hands in early Christian representations, see above n. 32). In addition, there is a cross flanked by two peacocks above the

funerary art, Moses is represented receiving a scroll on the early fifth century wooden doors of S. Sabina.[55]

A textual source has been suggested as explaining the replacement of the tablets by a scroll. This is a Midrash of the Song of Songs, telling how Moses carved not only the Ten Commandments but the whole Pentateuch in a tiny script on a stone in such a way that, 'although they are fashioned out of the hardest stone, they can still be rolled up like a scroll (נגלליו)'.[56] But before adopting the legend as the solution to the deviation from the biblical source in late fourth-century Rome, we should perhaps examine the visual documents which, I believe, are able to provide the answer to the transformation of the Law at that precise time and place, something which the legend is unable to do.

The city-gate sarcophagi in Ancona and Verona mentioned above share an additional detail with our casket. Both have the scene of the *Traditio legis* at the centre of their decoration programmes, formed as on the casket by Christ giving an open scroll to Peter with his left hand; Peter holds a cross and stands on Christ's left in acclamation pose, as does Paul on the right. The juxtaposing of the *Traditio legis* with the Moses scene could have been influenced by the typological tradition of the early Christian Fathers.[57] The analogy is based upon Jeremiah 31: 31,[58] 'The time is coming, says the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with Israel and Judah. It will not be like the covenant I made with their forefathers when I took them by the hand and led them out of Egypt.' Thus, the Christian fulfilment (Christ) of the Jewish prophecy (Moses) is the basis of the typological relation of the two figures. 'In Christian thought, Christ was identified as the new Moses who had given a new law to the new Chosen People of God.'[59] However,

scene, recalling the Christogram with Alpha and Omega on the casket lid. One detail of the relief is not present on the casket; Moses is accompanied by a second male figure, usually interpreted as Joshua (Exodus 24: 13).

55 Jeremias, G., *Die Holztür der Basilika S. Sabina in Rom* (Tübingen: Wasmuth 1980), pl. 22.

56 *Midrash Rabbah, Song of Songs*, V, 14, 1, ed. I. Epstein (London, 1961), 82, 245; L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1911/1968), 3. 119. See e.g. A. St. Clair, 'The Basilewsky Pyxis: Typology and Topography in the Exodus Tradition', *CA* 32 (1984), 16; G. Vikan, 'Pyxis with Moses and Daniel', in Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 421; Weitzmann and Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue*, 54.

57 St. Clair, 'The Basilewsky Pyxis', 16: 'A simpler explanation, can be found in the typological tradition of the Early Christian Fathers, where Moses, redeemer of his people and lawgiver, was presented as a type of Christ. Parallels were drawn between the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai and the Sermon on the Mount, where Jesus proclaimed the New Law; and the resplendent Christ of the Transfiguration on Mt. Tabor. Central to this Exodus typology was the idea that the Old Law was but a "shadow of heavenly things", to be replaced by the law of Jesus Christ, the New Moses.' See also J. Danielou, *From Shadows to Reality, Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers* (London: Burns & Oates, 1960), 197–8, who also proposes such typological relationships between the two legislators, based on the early Fathers, for instance Eusebius, *Demonstrationis Evangelicae*, 3. 2; *PG* 22. 169.

58 See e.g. Weitzmann and Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue*, 131.

59 Ibid. 170, and n. 16, adducing the casket from Nea Herakleia as an example. This typological reading was recently offered also by Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society*, 102.

in the casket from Nea Herakleia the visual typology would seem to indicate a different analogy, one matching Moses and Peter. When we look at the two scenes on the casket, it is evident that Moses' figure responds visually to Peter's (Fig. 23). Both are diagonal, leaning in opposite directions, more or less at the same distance from the casket corner. They are similarly dressed. Not much can be seen of Moses' head, yet his hair seems to be designed like Peter's and he too, of course, has a beard. True, Peter receives an open scroll while Moses gets a closed one,[60] but we could still wonder whether the scroll adaptation could perhaps be traced to other appearances of this pair? Earlier Roman representations in which the two are depicted on the same object may offer a solution.[61] However, before examining representations of the two figures in one decoration programme, let us reinforce the analogy suggested above between Peter and Moses by looking at what is most likely another *Traditio legis* representation produced in Rome at more or less the same time. It is a mould made of slate, found in Trier in 1985, and only fragmentarily preserved (Fig. 24). A negative image of Peter and a bit of Christ's pallium are still traceable.[62] Peter is actually depicted climbing a hill to receive the Law, as if he were Moses. From the extant fragment, it is difficult to decide whether Peter is climbing the hill on which Christ is standing, probably with the four rivers flowing from it, or a different hill. In any case, as far as I know, this is the only instance in which Peter is seen climbing a hill to receive the Law, but since it appears on a mould, it is safe to assume that other copies were made from the same source.

One of the earliest works to depict Moses and Peter together in one decorative programme is a Constantinian frieze sarcophagus (known as the Three Monograms) found in the necropolis of S. Pietro (Fig. 25).[63] Moses is seen once,

[60] St. Clair, 'The Basilewsky Pyxis', 17, thinks that the open versus the closed scroll illustrates the 'Christian belief that while the Old Law was a type of the New, its contents could be revealed and fulfilled only through the person of Christ, the Messiah'.

[61] For the textual sources, see E. Stommel, *Beiträge zur Ikonographie der konstantinischen Sarkophagplastik*, Theophania, 10 (Bonn: P. Hanstein, 1954), 102. In the Roman context of the juxtaposition of Peter and Moses it is important to note that it was once thought that the mosaic of the southern niche in S. Constanza, opposite the *Traditio legis* mosaic, represented Moses Receiving the Law (e.g. St. Clair, 'The Basilewsky Pyxis', 16, and recently with renewed attention Rasmussen, 'Traditio legis?'). However, the southern mosaic is much restored and the interpretation of the scene is not clear. Another important visual image in this context is that of Moses and his brother Aaron, represented in Rome as a prefiguration of the idea of *Concordia Apostolorum*, next to Peter and Paul. See H. L. Kessler, 'The Meeting of Peter and Paul in Rome: An Emblematic Narrative of Spiritual Brotherhood', in *DOP* 41 (1987), 2365–75, repr. in idem, *Studies in Pictorial Narrative* (London: Pindar Press, 1994), 531–41.

[62] Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Inv. no. 1985,7; M. König (ed.), *Palatia. Kaiserpaläste in Konstantinopel, Ravenna und Trier* (Trier: Rheinisches Landesmuseum, 2003), 41, fig. 2.

[63] *Rep. I*, no. 674; The excavator named the sarcophagus 'Three Monograms', with reference to the two Christograms carved on scrolls held by Peter (see below), and one carved on the back of the lid. Stommel, *Beiträge zur Ikonographie*, 16, 2–3, pl. 1–3; Schrenk, S., *Typos und Antitypos in der frühchristlichen Kunst*, JbAC Suppl., 21 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1995), 182; Noga-Banai, 'Visual Prototype'.

Receiving the Law, but Peter, as often on Roman sarcophagi, is repeated. He figures in the Water Miracle, in the Prediction of Betrayal (Fig. 26) and in captivity (Fig. 27). While foretelling Peter's denial, Christ holds a half open scroll folded in towards the centre. One end is covered by Christ's hand while the other is inscribed with a Christogram. An exactly similar half-open scroll showing the Christogram is in Peter's hand in the Captivity scene. This could well mean that the Law was transferred from Christ to Peter. Stommel argues for an early version of the *Traditio legis*.[64]

If indeed the intention was to represent Christ giving the Law to Peter, the juxtaposition of the two Law scenes was made before the representative version of the *Traditio legis* was invented for the S. Pietro apse. The S. Pietro sarcophagus attests to the attempt already made early in the fourth century to further emphasize Peter's position in the decoration programme by comparing him to Moses.[65] This purpose seems to be reflected in another early sarcophagus, in the Pio Cristiano Museum.[66] There the imago clipeata of a woman is flanked on one side by the Sacrifice of Abraham, and on the other (where on some sarcophagi of the first half of the fourth century Moses is Receiving the Law[67]) by Peter's Water Miracle, a scene usually located in a corner of the front, and not in the centre.[68] The rest of the decoration programme represents Peter's Captivity, Daniel in the Lions' Den, Jonah under the Gourd-Vine, and the Adoration of the Magi. As in the Three Monograms sarcophagus, we have here a multiple representation of Peter and a visual comparison, but in this case Moses is replaced by Peter.

The S. Pietro Three Monograms sarcophagus is a key monument in finding a solution to the scroll given to Moses on our casket, not only by the juxtaposition of the two Law scenes but also by the Christogram inscribed on the scroll given to Peter. On a contemporary sarcophagus from Trinquetaille Moses receives tablets carved with a Christogram (Fig. 21), most likely bestowing the meaning

[64] Stommel, *Beiträge zur Ikonographie*, 102–9.

[65] Schrenk, *Typos und Antitypos*, 182, leaves open the question whether such a relation between Peter and Moses was represented at that time. The Three Monograms sarcophagus and the casket from Nea Herakleia seem to support such an assumption. In early medieval representations Moses and Paul resemble each other. In the Vivian Bible (Paris, Bibliothéque National de France, Cod. lat. 1) for instance, both look the same except that Moses has grey hair and beard, while Paul seems to be the same man in the prime of life. Moses is on the frontispiece of Exodus, receiving the Law (fol. 27v), and Paul's Conversion is depicted in the frontispiece to the Epistles (fol. 386v). 'Together, the Exodus and Epistle pages plot the continuity of God's revelation to man, representing the appearance on Sinai and the old order of the Jews as precursors of Paul's transformation and the new Christian dispensation.' H. L. Kessler, 'An Apostle in Armor and the Mission of Carolingian Art', *Arte Medievale*, 4/1 (1990), 17–39, figs. 13, 21; the quotation is on p. 32. Cf. A. St. Clair, 'A New Moses: Typological Iconography in the Moutier-Grandval Bible Illustrations of Exodus', *Gesta*, 26 (1987), 19–28.

[66] *Rep. I*, no. 33.

[67] As e.g. *Rep. I*, nos. 39, 40, 42, 45, 188.

[68] See e.g. *Rep. I*, nos. 6, 11, 14, 15, 17, 20, 22, 23a. For the Moses–Peter typology and the water miracle see Stommel, *Beiträge zur Ikonographie*, 104–6.

of the New Testament on the tablets.[69] Thus, the tablets show that there was an attempt to visually connect the law given to Moses with that given to Peter.[70] Perhaps the need or wish to illustrate an analogy between the two figures is the reason why in later depictions Moses receives a scroll rather than tablets: after the appearance of the representative *Traditio legis* formula in Rome, and its many reproductions, Moses accepts the same object as Peter, a scroll. This may explain why on a sarcophagus dated after the middle of the fourth century, in Tarragona, where Peter is not included in the decoration programme, Moses receives a scroll inscribed with a Christogram (Fig. 28),[71] as if he were Peter, and when the two are depicted together, as on the casket from Nea Herakleia, their scrolls are not inscribed with Christograms. Nevertheless, both personages are located under the Christogram of the lid. Placing both receivers of the Law under the same roof, holding scrolls, together with the similar appearance of the figures, indicates a wish to depict a typology of related identities. Emphasizing Peter through the inclusion of Moses on a casket which carries a representative *Traditio legis*, and dated, as will be shown, to the last quarter of the fourth century, reaffirms Rome as a possible place of origin.

Daniel in the Lions' Den and the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace

The two scenes from the Book of Daniel are located next to each other, and the figures of Daniel and the Three Hebrews appear to follow the same model. This in itself would not be sufficient reason to discuss the scenes together unless they shared, as will be shown, meaning and purpose.

In the middle of the left side panel Daniel stands in an orant pose, wearing a long sleeved short tunic, long tight trousers and a short cloak held with a round

[69] J. Engemann, 'Zu den Dreifaltigkeitsdarstellungen der frühchristlichen Kunst: Gab es im 4. Jahrhundert anthropomorphe Trinitätsbilder?' *JbAC* 19 (1976), 171. A carved cross on the tablets given to Moses is seen also on the Basilewsky pyxis: St. Clair, 'The Basilewsky Pyxis', 28. In n. 38 St. Clair adds bibliography on the appearance of Christ's monogram on two sarcophagi, one in the Lateran and one in Metz, as a mark on Miriam's (the sister of Moses) tambourine. For the sarcophagus in Metz, see most recently *Rep. III*. no. 340.

[70] It is interesting to note that sometime in the fourth century a systematic comparative compilation *De Collatio Legum Mosaicarum et Romanum* was composed in Rome. The author, most likely a Jew, addressing pagan jurisprudence, attempted to prove that the old Mosaic Law, the Torah, contains laws and norms that have parallels in Roman law. It is possible that the Collatio was written during the second half of the century, a time when Christian writers were turning their attention to the old question of the validity or invalidity of Pentateuchal law. See L. V. Rutgers, *The Hidden Heritage of Diaspora Judaism* (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), ch. 10. I thank Oded Irshai for bringing the *Collatio* to my attention.

[71] Sarcophagus of Leocadio, Tarragona, Museo National Arqueologico de Tarragone. Probably imported from Carthage. See H. Schlunk and Th. Hauschild, *Die Denkmäler der frühchristlichen und westgotischen Zeit*, Hispania Antiqua, 5 (Mainz: von Zabern, 1978), 132–4, pl. 24; I. Rodà, 'Sarcófagos cristianos de Tarragona', in G. Koch (ed.), *Akten des Symposiums '125 Jahre Sarkophag-Corpus' Marburg, 4.-7. Oktober 1995* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1998), 150–61, pl. 79.6; Also St. Clair, 'The Basilewsky Pyxis', fig. 8.

clasp on the breast. Traces of a Phrygian cap can be seen above his long curly hair. His body turns slightly to the left, while his head turns in a three-quarter view to the right. He is flanked by two lions. The one on his right crouches down on a hummocky ground line. Its tail is raised in the air while its head comes close to Daniel's right foot. The lion on Daniel's left sits quietly on the same ground line, its head almost reaching Daniel's waist (Fig. 9).

Daniel's appearance suggests the oriental location of the event, which took place at the court of Darius the Mede (Dan. 6). One of the most popular images of early Christian art, Daniel in orant pose flanked by two lions forming a heraldic composition, had already reached funerary art in the third century.[72] In spite of many appearances, the image remained relatively consistent, accommodating very few alternatives. The most conspicuous variation shows Daniel as a naked figure in Roman examples from the fourth century on. In eastern representations he is clothed.[73] Another variation has to do with added elements. In the fourteenth, apocryphal, chapter of the book of Daniel, it is told that while Daniel was in the lions' den, Habakkuk brought him food; Habakkuk is sometimes added to the scene, accompanied by an angel.[74] The lions' posture has a few options, and sometimes there are more than two animals, as, for instance, on a sarcophagus from Alcaudete (Spain), dated to the first half of the fifth century.[75] The lions may flank Daniel in the classic heraldic pose, one being a mirror figure of the other (the most common type); or they may sit with their backs to Daniel, their heads turning to look at him.[76] But they are seldom seen depicted as on the casket from Nea Herakleia, where one lion bends down to Daniel's foot, while the other's head comes close to his waist.

In looking for a close parallel to the image on the casket, the clothed Daniel and the position of the lions are key. The combination is found, for instance, in a relief dated to the sixth century in Istanbul, where the scene includes Habakkuk

[72] Domitilla Catacomb. See J. Daniélou, s.v. 'Daniel', *RAC* 3 (1956), 581–3; H. Schlosser, s.v. 'Daniel', *LCI* 1 (1974, repr. 1990), 469–73.

[73] G. Wacker, *Die Ikonographie des Daniel in der Löwengrube*, Ph.D. thesis (Marburg, 1954), 9; Schlosser, 'Daniel', 469; Panayotidi and Grabar, 'Un Reliquaire paléochrétien', 36.

[74] e.g. the so-called 'dogmatic' sarcophagus, dated to the 2nd quarter of the 4th cent. (*Rep. I*, no. 43), or the so-called Sarcophagus of the Two Brothers (fig. 38), dated to the 2nd third of the 4th cent. (*Rep. I*, no. 45), both in Museo Pio Cristiano.

[75] Schlosser, 'Daniel', 469; A. Arbeiter, 'Frühe hispanische Darstellungen des Daniel in der Löwengrube', *Boreas* 17 (1994), 5–12, fig. 5. For the various positions of the lions in representations of the scene on North African redware, see J. W. Salomonson, *Voluptatem spectandi non perdat sed mutet: observations sur l'iconographie du martyre en Afrique* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Pub. Co., 1979), 55–72.

[76] e.g. on a processional cross from Munich or a wooden comb from Berlin. See A. Effenberger, 'Vom Zeichen zum Abbild—Frühzeit christlicher Kunst', in M. Brandt and A. Effenberger (eds.), *Byzanz; die Macht der Bilder*, *Katalog zur Ausstellung im Dom- Museum Hildesheim* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1998), 37, figs. 25a, 26.

and an angel.[77] It seems to me that Daniel's being clothed may have influenced the attribution of the casket to the eastern part of the empire. However, in an early fifth-century group of representations from Ravenna, Daniel is also fully dressed. The group includes the Isaac sarcophagus in S. Vitale, a sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale in Ravenna and the so-called reliquary of Julitta and Quiricus (Fig. 19).[78] On the sarcophagi, as on the silver casket, the Daniel scene is located on the lateral panels. On the marble reliquary of Julitta and Quiricus it is on the back. Two of these works, the reliquary and the sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale, have a representation of the *Traditio legis* on the front. However, the lions are not posed in the same way, and Habakkuk is added on the reliquary. These examples indicate that as in Ravenna during the first decade of the fifth century, so in Rome at the end of the fourth, the clothed Daniel might well have been an eastern motif, but could appear also in the western part of the empire.

Like Daniel, the Three Hebrews in the centre of the back panel stand in orant poses; they are all young-looking, with long curly hair covered by Phrygian caps (Fig. 11). Like him again, they wear short tunics with long sleeves, long tight trousers, and short cloaks held across the breast by a round clasp. Although all three adopt the orant pose, their bodies turn in opposite directions. The one on the right turns slightly to the right edge; the one in the middle turns a little to the right, but his head swivels in a three-quarter view to the left. The one on the left turns a little to the left edge of the panel, his head towards the right. At their feet are four flames, two flanking the group and two between the pairs of feet.

Two parts of the story of the three Hebrews told in chapter three of the book of Daniel entered early Christian art. One representation shows the Hebrews' refusal to worship the idol (Dan. 3: 13–18). The other is of Shedrach, Meshach, and Abed-Nego (their Hebrew names were Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah) standing in the fiery furnace (Dan. 3: 19–23).[79] The earliest depiction of the fiery furnace scene is dated to the late third century, while the refusal is known only from fourth century representations.[80] As far as can be seen from the surviving works, the furnace scene was the more popular.

[77] Istanbul, Archeological Museum. See T. F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), fig. 55.

[78] For the Isaac sarcophagus see above, n. 22; for the sarcophagus from Museo Nazionale see Kollwitz and Herdejürgen, *Die Ravennatische Sarkophage*, B4 and *Rep. II*, no. 379; for the reliquary see above, n. 31.

[79] The story is also told in the Book of Maccabees (1 Macc. 2. 59 ff.) and by Josephus Flavius, *Jewish Antiquities* 10. 213–16; F. M. Kulczak-Rudiger and P. Terbuyken, s.v. 'Jünglinge in Feuerofen (A III, V)', *RAC* 19 (2001), 350 f.; B. Ott, s.v. 'Jünglinge, Babylonische', *LCI* 2 (1974, repr. 1990), 464–6. For the identity of the idol see J. W. van Henten, 'Daniel 3 and 6 in Early Christian Literature', in J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint (eds.), *The Book of Daniel Composition and Reception* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 1. 150.

[80] J. Engemann, 'Zur Interpretation der Darstellungen der Drei Jünglinge in Babylon in der frühchristlichen Kunst', in G. Koch, (ed.), *Sarkophag-Studien II. Akten des Symposiums 'Frühchristliche Sarkophage' Marburg 30.6.–4.7.1999* (Mainz: von Zabern, 2002), 82.

The depiction does not always include a furnace. In fact, from the first, several flames next to three young men dressed in oriental costume, standing in an orant pose, were considered sufficient illustration. Later on, three young men wearing eastern costumes could manage without the flames.[81] This suggests two things: first, the popularity of the story and its visual representations; there was no need for a furnace to identify the occasion. Secondly, the emphasis was probably on the rescue of the three, not the punishment inflicted by Nebuchadnezzar.

The frequent recurrence of the scene is reflected also in the decoration programme of our silver caskets. It figures on all three caskets decorated with biblical narrative scenes: the casket from S. Nazaro (Fig. 30),[82] that from Brivio (Fig. 5),[83] and that from Nea Herakleia. Each displays a different variation. Nea Herakleia represents the fire by four flames. In S. Nazaro there is no indication of the fire, and in Brivio there is a furnace with two openings, flames between the figures and a fourth male figure, the fire-tender. All three follow the same convention for the figure type. The personages are beardless, they have long curly hair and their costume indicates their oriental origin. They wear Phrygian caps and short tunics, cloaks (missing in S. Nazaro and Brivio) and trousers (unseen in Brivio).

The version on the Nea Herakleia casket where there is no furnace and only the flames indicate the ordeal, occurs in various Roman representations. For instance, in the Velatio cubicle of the Priscilla catacomb, the wall painting shows the three young men standing in orant pose between multiple flames.[84] They are similarly illustrated in the catacomb of Via Latina and on a gold glass bottom in the Metropolitan Museum.[85] In the last, dated to the end of the fourth century, the number of flames and their position matches the flames of the silver casket. This version of the scene in monumental as well as minor art testifies to its common employment in Rome, although the other versions too left a mark on the art of the city.

In the context of funerary art, i.e. sarcophagi and catacomb paintings, the meaning of the two scenes from the Book of Daniel is embodied in the representations themselves: (1) Daniel and the Hebrews are depicted already saved from the fire, hence the images belong to the roster of salvation pictures; (2) Daniel in the Lions' Den and the rescue of the three young Hebrews are very

[81] e.g. on a terracotta lamp from Carthage, Museo Bardo. See M. Rassart-Debergh, 'Les Trois Hébreux dans la fournaise dans l'art paléochrétien. Iconographie', *Byzantion*; 48 (1978), 430–55, fig. 6.

[82] Two other interpretations have been given to the representation in S. Nazaro: the Three Magi before Herod and the Annunciation to the Shepherds. Most scholars, including Alborino, agree on the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace. For details see Alborino, *Das Silberkästchen*, 94.

[83] See below, section B.

[84] F. Mancinelli, *The Catacomb of Rome and the Origin of Christianity* (Florence: Scala, 1998), fig. 54.

[85] Inv. no. 1916, 16.174.2; Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 388 (L. Kötzsche).

often represented together with other images from the same repertory, such as Noah emerging from the Ark, and Jonah resting under the gourd after having been rescued from Ketos.[86] In other words, the saved personages and the context in which the scene appears in funerary art hardly allow any alternative to the reading as a salvation image.[87] Nonetheless, other interpretations have been suggested;[88] one, based on textual sources, is that Daniel and the Three Hebrews are prototypes of early Christian martyrs.[89] This interpretation is tempting in such a functional context as a reliquary.[90] However, as will be argued in a brief review of Daniel 3 and 6 as represented on caskets, it would seem that on an early Christian object of this kind the scene of Daniel in the Lions' Den and/or the Three Young Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace should be read, as in funerary art, as

[86] As e.g. in the Catacomb of SS. Pietro and Marcellino, the scene is located next to Noah emerging from the Ark, and Jonah being saved from Ketos (the whale). See J. G. Deckers, H. R. Seeliger, and G. Mietke, *Die Katakombe 'Santi Marcellino e Pietro' Repertorium der Malereien*, Roma sotterranea cristiana, 6 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Instituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1987), pl. 17b. In fact, they are already seen together in the sarcophagus from Velletri, Museo Communale, dated shortly after 300. See *Rep. II*, no. 242. Engemann, 'Zur Interpretation', discusses mainly the scene mentioned in his title, but his method and conclusions are relevant for the scene of Daniel in the Lions' Den as well.

[87] Stommel, *Beiträge zur Ikonographie*, 63. Engemann, 'Zur Interpretation', 83–4; There is textual evidence in the New Testament. Christ's grave sealed by a stone is probably an allusion to the lions' den (Matthew 27: 62–6). Thus the lions' den is seen as a grave, or as a place where the dead remain, and Daniel's rescue becomes a *post mortem* deliverance. See Van Henten, 'Daniel 3 and 6', 158–9. The same reading can be found in the Commentary on Daniel by Hippolytus of Rome (3.27.4–5, for Eng. trans. see Van Henten, 159). The scholarly literature often mentions the *Commendatio animae*, where Daniel in the Lion's Den is a paradigm of redemption from death. See Daniélou, 'Daniel', 582; P. C. Finney, *The Invisible God: The Earliest Christians on Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 283. For Origen, Daniel in the Lions' Den is a forerunner of Christ's triumph (*Contra Celsum* 7. 57 after Daniélou). Most of the textual sources considerably predate the first known depiction of the scene, and the *Commendatio* is of the early 5th cent. Perhaps this indicates a continuing and enduring interpretation.

[88] Paul declaring his deliverance from the lion's mouth (2 Tim. 4: 17) is a tempting textual analogy. The location of the scene next to Paul on the casket, as Moses is next to Peter, might speak for this. However, unlike Moses and Peter, the design of Paul and Daniel offers no support in that direction. For the analogy see Van Henten, 'Daniel 3 and 6', 160–2. A typological image of the Baptism has been suggested for the Three Hebrews: Dulaey, M., 'Les trois Hébreux dans la fournaise (Dan 3) dans l'interprétation symbolique de l'église ancienne', *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 71 (1997), 33–59, esp. 50–3. Cf. Engemann, 'Zur Interpretation', 89, with further bibliography. Another interpretation deals with representations where a fourth figure, the son of God, is added, stressing the might of God. See Alborino, *Das Silberkästchen*, 98–100.

[89] Clement of Rome mentions Daniel and the Three Hebrews as models of perseverance and trust, the attitude he adopts towards Christian martyrs (Clem. 45, 8–46). See J. W. van Henten, 'The Martyrs as Heroes of the Christian People: Some Remarks on the Continuity between Jewish and Christian Martyrology, with Pagan Analogies', in M. Lamberigts and P. van Deun (eds.), *Martyrium in Multidisciplinary Perspective: Memorial Louis Reekmans* (Leuven: University Press, 1995), 321–2, and id., 'Daniel 3 and 6', 166–7. Cf. Dulaey, 'Les trois Hébreux dans la fournaise', 33–59 and also E. Dassmann, *Sündenvergebung durch Taufe, Busse und Martyrerfürbitte in den Zeugnissen frühchristlicher Frömmigkeit und Kunst*, Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie, 36 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1973); Cf. Engemann, 'Zur Interpretation', 84–9 with further extensive bibliography.

[90] See most recently, Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society*, 102–4.

an image of salvation, although an interpretation as an image of martyrdom can not be entirely excluded.[91]

On the silver casket from S. Nazaro (Fig. 30), the Three Hebrews are located between the Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 29) and a Daniel scene (probably Daniel as judge in the Susanna story).[92] The lid carries a Maiestas Domini image,[93] and opposite the Three Hebrews is Solomon's Judgement. Indeed, the five scenes depict, through significant representational ruler compositions, the power of God and the idea of theophany,[94] a context in which the salvation interpretation of the scene is almost inescapable.

On the Julitta and Quiricus marble casket in Ravenna, Daniel in the Lions' Den is depicted opposite the *Traditio legis*, and next to the Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 17), the Resurrection and the Ascension of Christ (Fig. 18). Again, as in Milan, there is an Epiphany scene and an indication of Christ's return by means of the timeless *Traditio* image. To these, the Resurrection followed by the Ascension are added. The chain of timeless salvation history, from Christ's Epiphany to his Return, concludes with the promised redemption, exemplified by Daniel. A similar role is played by the scene of Daniel in the Lions' Den in the two sarcophagi from Ravenna referred to above.[95] In the Isaac sarcophagus in S. Vitale, the decoration programme combines the scene with the Adoration of the Magi, the Raising of Lazarus and a Christogram flanked by peacocks and palm trees. This programme records all the links in the chain: Epiphany, Resurrection, Return of Christ, and the fulfilment of Salvation. On the sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale, the scene is depicted next to a *Traditio legis* and the Raising of Lazarus. In the *Traditio legis*, besides the palm trees, two persons flank the main figures, a man and a woman, probably the deceased.[96] Here, although the Epiphany (Adoration of the Magi) is missing, the principal programme is represented: a resurrection scene (Lazarus), Christ's return in the form of the *Traditio legis*, and the redemption, prefigured by Daniel in the Lions' Den, assured to the faithful with Peter and Paul as intercessors in a timeless picture of promise.

All the examples above, in both portable and monumental art, date to the same period, the end of the fourth/beginning of the fifth century. All these works were produced in the western part of the empire. All of them allude to salvation through the representation of Daniel in the Lion's Den and the Three Hebrews

[91] The martyrs' interpretation of Daniel is likely to be more relevant to the representations on redware vessels, especially in comparison with representations of the athlete in the arena. See Salomonson, Voluptatem spectandi, 79–90.

[92] Alborino, *Das Silberkästchen*, 63–73.

[93] Ibid. 57–62.

[94] Ibid. 102.

[95] See n. 78.

[96] Kollwitz and Herdejürgen, *Die Ravennatische Sarkophage*, 134; see also Deckers, 'Vom Denker zum Diener', 155–6.

in the Fiery Furnace, as on the Nea Herakleia casket.[97] It seems, then, reasonable to conclude that although to deny the textual martyr dimension of Daniel in a reliquary context would be going too far, in these examples the interpretation of the two scenes as images of salvation stands the test of visual context.

The Roman Context

The decoration on the casket from Nea Herakleia comprises three biblical representations, one allegorical scene and one symbolic image. The allegory is on the front, the symbolic image on the lid, and the biblical scenes on the lateral and back panels. The arrangement of the compositions and their relation to each other suggest how the artist may have conceived the programme. On the one hand, he used traditional scenes; on the other, he introduced a new layout and relatively new motifs. The arrangement also suggests the meanings and the common ground of the decoration programme. Under the precursor sign, formed by a large Christogram with Alpha and Omega, Christ is seen between the princely apostles in the most representative manner—an eternal triumph. During his epiphany he gives a new law to Peter. This act is reinforced by an older one, Moses receiving the law on Mount Sinai, which adds legitimacy to the new one. The followers of the new law are assured of salvation and redemption after the return of Christ, as Daniel and the Three Hebrews were saved and redeemed. In addition, behind this general meaning another message clearly emerges, that of the essential timeless position of Peter and the permanent place of both Roman saints, Peter and Paul, as intercessors.

Such a programme would not have seemed unusual in Rome in the last quarter of the fourth century. For instance, in cubiculum no. 5 (cubiculum of Leonis, Fig. 31) in the catacomb of Commodilla, a similar example occurs, this time as a fresco.[98] The vault of the cubiculum is painted in small squares made by crisscrossing blue and red lines. Each square contains a star. In the centre of the vault is a large square, occupying the space of nine small ones. This square contains a representation of Christ's bust between the letters Alpha and Omega. On the back wall of the room, on the same axis as the bust, Christ appears again, this time standing, in a representative composition, flanked by two local martyrs, St Adauctus and St Felix. On the casket the axis is established by the Christogram rather than the bust of Christ, but the apocalyptic letters flank both images, and both are located above a full figure of Christ. The two arcosolia on the lateral walls of the cubiculum display narrative scenes, as on the casket: on the right,

[97] For the Three Hebrews scene on the casket from Brivio see Section B of this chapter.

[98] J. G. Deckers, G. Mietke, and A. Weiland, *Die Katakombe 'Commodilla' Repertorium der Malereien*, Roma sotterranea cristiana, 10 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Instituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1994), no. 5; P. Pergola and P. M. Barbini, *Le catacombe romane* (Rome: Carocci, 1997), 218–26.

Peter strikes the rock and on the left he denies Christ as the cock crows.[99] Thus the programme of the decoration in the cubiculum consists of two elements: one is the second coming of Christ, the other is the importance of the local martyrs as intercessors. The cubiculum of Leonis is only one example of such an arrangement. The combination of local Roman martyrs with the heavenly Christ and with biblical scenes is seen in other catacomb decoration programmes.[100]

The local martyrs' aspect of the casket decoration and its monumental contemporaries can be correlated with Pope Damasus' efforts to establish the superiority of the *cathedra Petri* at that time.[101] To enhance the superiority of Rome on the Tiber over the patriarch of the 'new Rome', Constantinople, Damasus promoted the cult of the local martyrs, among others by enlarging and decorating the catacombs.[102] But was this really the only reason why he put so much thought into the martyrs' cult? It seems that the second aspect of the decoration programme, the eschatological one, was also not foreign to Damasus. In the crypt of the Popes in the S. Calixtus catacombs, a marble slab was found inscribed with an ode by Damasus commemorating the martyrs and bishops buried there. The last two verses confess a desire to be buried with them, but Damasus feels himself unworthy of such an honour.[103] Of the many epitaphs which the Pope composed, several have survived, including one for his sister Irene and one for his

99 Another wall of the same cubiculum displays two scenes possibly referring to St Paul. One pictures him in a quadriga, the other is his vision of Christ. Between the two scenes is a field of flowers, and the vault above bears the monogram of Christ flanked by the apocalyptic letters; A. R. Veganzones, 'El "Carmen". Paulino de Damaso y la interpretacion de tres escenas pictoricas de la Catacumba de Comodila', in *Saecularia Damasiana; atti del convegno internazionale per il XVI centenario della morte di Papa Damaso I (11-12-384–10/12-12-1984)* (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1986), 323–58, fig. 1; Deckers et al., *Die Katakombe 'Commodilla'*, 98–9 (text volume), pl. 31.

100 e.g. room J of the Via Latina Catacomb and the arcosolium mosaic in the catacomb of Domitilla. The main scene in both is the *Maiestas Domini*, flanked by Peter and Paul. See M. T. Paleani, 'Probabili influssi carmi Damasiani su alcune pitture cimiteriali', in: *Saecularia Damasiana*, 359–387; also, V. Fiocchi Nicolai et al., *Roms christliche Katakomben: Geschichte—Bilderwelt—Inschriften* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 1998), 74–5, figs. 78–9.

101 For Damasus' procedure in this matter see C. Pietri, *Roma christiana; recherches sur l'Eglise de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (311–440)* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1976), 853–72; D. Hunt, 'The Church as Public Institution', in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 13 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 249.

102 See V. Fiocchi Nicolai, *Strutture funerarie ed edifici di culto paleocristiani di Roma dal IV al VI secolo*, Studi ricerche, Pubblicati a cura della Pontificia commissione di archeologia sacra, 3 (Città del Vaticano: IGER, Istituto grafico editoriale romano, 2001), 79–88 with earlier bibliography. For Damasus and the cult of relics see below Ch. 3.

103 Hunt, *The Church as Public Institution*, 253. Pietri, *Roma Christiana*, 595–645; For Damasus' epitaphs see: A. Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana recensuit et adnotavit*, Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane, 2 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Instituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1942); U. Reutter, *Damasus, Bishof von Rom (366–384); Leben und Werk*, Ph.D. thesis (Jena, 1999). For the marble slab from the Catacombs of Calixtus in the Via Appia see Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, 119 ff, no. 16; Reutter, *Damasus*, 101. The last two verses read: *hic fateor Damasus volui mea condere membra | sed cineres timui sanctos vexare piorim*.

tomb in the Catacomb of Marcus and Marcellianus. In the epitaph for his sister he asks her to remember him when God comes and in his own he expresses his belief that he will be raised from the dead like Lazarus.[104] From all the above, it seems that the casket from Nea Herakleia could reflect the Damasian priorities. Its decoration programme emphasizes the importance of the Roman see, of the local martyrs, and of their intercessory role at the end of days.

At this point of the argument the casket may not present a unitary decoration programme specific to the function of reliquaries. Moreover, what I refer to as Damasian priorities were not exclusive to Damasus. However, the details are significant and can offer more than a clue to the casket's origin. The representative *Traditio legis* picture, the inclusion of Moses Receiving the Law and the layout of the scenes, all point towards Rome. The question of origin may be held in abeyance while we consider the stylistic characteristics of the Nea Herakleia. The style will enable us to be more specific about the time of production, and more precise in assigning it to a group of works.

It is generally agreed that the relief decoration of the casket from Nea Herakleia belongs to the so-called Theodosian style.[105] The characteristics attributed to the style may be recognized in products from both eastern and western artistic centres, and dated between the last quarter of the fourth century and the first half of the fifth.[106] However, the time span and geographical borders are too

[104] For the epitaph of Irene, see Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, no. 11; Reutter, *Damasus*, 80. For the epitaph for Damasus himself, see Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, no. 12; Reutter, *Damasus*, 81.

[105] Panayotidi and Grabar, 'Un Reliquaire paléochrétien', 40–1; Christern in Brenk (ed.), *Spätantike*, cat. no. 168; This is one of the rare cases where Buschhausen, *Metallscrinia*, 238, indicates a stylistic parallel (the relief from Bakirköy) and date. Cf. J. Dresken-Weiland, *Reliefierte Tischplatten aus theodosianischer Zeit*, Studi di Antichità Cristiana, 44 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1991), 21, fig. 188, who finds a stylistic resemblance among the Bakirköy relief (Istanbul, Archaeological Museum), the limestone relief with the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace, in the same museum (Dresken-Weiland, *Reliefierte Tischplatten*, fig. 189), and the silver casket from Nea Herakleia. Indeed, the style of the relief figures from Bakirköy has much in common with the figures of Nea Herakleia as well as S. Nazaro. However, I don't see much resemblance between the casket and the limestone relief. As will be shown later, the fact that a certain stylistic similarity occurs in Constantinople is not enough to decide the origin of the casket.

[106] The classic study of Theodosian art is J. Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik der theodosianischen Zeit*, (Berlin: W. de Gruyter & Co, 1941). For Theodosian works outside Constantinople see id., 'Probleme der theodosianischen Kunst Roms', *RivAC* 39 (1963), 191–233, defining a group of sculptural works in the Theodosian style made in Rome at the end of the 4th cent., Kollwitz suggested that these objects, some of which will be compared here to the casket, were perhaps produced by western craftsmen working under a Constantinopolitan influence. A few years later, B. Brenk in 'Zwei Reliefs des späten 4. Jahrhunderts', *Acta ad Archeologiam at Artium Historiam Pertinentina* 4 (1969), 51–60, published two reliefs dated to the same period, one from Pesaro, the other from Ostia, suggesting that the Theodosianic works made in Rome might have been produced under an eastern influence, but that they could as well be the outcome of a local Roman stylistic development. For Theodosian art in Milan see H. Brandenburg, 'La scultura a Milano nel IV e V seculo', in C. Bertelli (ed.), *Milano: una capitale da Ambrogio ai Carolingi*, Il Millennio ambrosiano, 1 (Milan: Electa, 1987), 80–129, also Alborino, *Das Silberkästchen*, 156–8, and Dresken-Weiland, *Reliefierte*

broad for accurate assigning of provenance and date. Another difficulty posed by the Theodosian attribution is the description of its features, which, if we compare all the monuments that are considered Theodosian, are clearly not identical.[107] The works presumed to be Theodosian have something in common, but are not the same, especially those made outside Constantinople.[108]

Consequently, when a work of art is described as Theodosian, its iconography plays a major part in determining provenance.[109] The Roman provenance suggested by iconographical analysis will be cross-checked, as far as possible, by stylistic comparisons, first with works of the same medium assumed to have been made in Italy: the Milan casket from S. Nazaro and a silver casket from the Esquiline treasure.

The silver casket from S. Nazaro is much larger than the casket from Nea Herakleia.[110] As if to suit its size, it is decorated with *Herrscherbild* compositions in four of the five panels, executed in densely crowded relief. These differences are evident at first glance.[111] However, they need not preclude stylistic comparison. The placing of one scene in each panel, as also the aim of achieving a representative composition, are relevant to our purpose. The one scene of the Milan

Tischplatten, 22. For the chronology of Theodosian works, that fixed by Kollwitz, *Öströmische Plastik*, is generally adopted, although alternatives have been offered. See e.g. J. Meischner's series of articles on establishing a new chronology for Theodosian portraits: *JdI* 105 (1990); 106 (1991); and 111 (1996). She suggests an alternative date for the famous missorium of Theodosius (Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid), the milestone by which other works are usually dated. Her arguments have not been accepted. See A. Effenberger, 'Das Theodosius–Missorium von 388. Anmerkungen zur politischen Ikonographie in der Spätantike', in C. Sode and S. Takács (eds.), *Novum Millennium, Studies on Byzantine History and Culture dedicated to Paul Speck* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 97–108; B. Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century Classicism in the Plastic Arts*, Odense University Classical Studies, 18 (Kopenhagen: Odense University press, 1993), 174–7, unconvincingly excluded some works usually classified as Theodosian, such as the Parabiago lanx, Milan, Civico Museo Archeologico, Inv. n. AO.9.14264.

[107] Kollwitz, 'Probleme', 214, and also Dresken-Weiland, *Reliefierte Tischplatten*, 22.

[108] In publishing the relief from Pesaro ('Zwei Reliefs'), Brenk did not find an exact stylistic match for it, as he did not find an exact stylistic parallel to the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, which, although of later date, show Theodosian characteristics. See his *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 133–4. However, in the monumental medium the place of origin is not an issue unless one tries to find the origin of the artists. Whatever that may have been, the fact remains that the Theodosian style was carried out in Rome. Alborino, *Das Silberkästchen*, 140–2, faced the same problem when she tried to find a close stylistic parallel to the casket from S. Nazaro.

[109] This approach is indeed reflected in Brenk's two publications and in Alborino's dissertation. Kollwitz, 'Probleme', 207, says the same. Brenk, 'Zwei Reliefs', 51–2, finds a parallel in Rome, and nowhere else, for the iconography of the Pesaro relief. Regarding the relief in New York, 'Ein Scheinsarkophag', 52, he supports his stylistic comparisons and conclusions with the typology of the *Traditio legis*. Alborino, *Das Silberkästchen*, 103–7, 162, finds ties between the decoration programme of the casket and the 'theologian ideas' of Ambrose.

[110] The casket measures 18.5 × 18.5 × 17.5 cm.

[111] Alborino, *Das Silberkästchen*, 140–2, compared the two caskets in an attempt to find a parallel to the casket from S. Nazaro, but pointed out mainly the dissimilarities. Cf. Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century Classicism*, 183–4.

casket that is not composed around a superior figure and is not as crowded as the rest, the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace (Fig. 30), is directly comparable in composition with the casket from Nea Herakleia.

In the Milan casket the scene is formed by four figures, the additional personage, second from the right, being the messenger of God.[112] None of these touches the frame but they come close to it at three of the four edges. Their feet are placed on a small raised platform, done in delicate relief. The scene occupies more of the rectangular space than the example from Nea Herakleia and is also more convincingly designed. There are no additional decorative elements, and the background is again empty, without architectural elements or furniture. The composition is not crowded. In both caskets, the interrelation between the figures, established by pose and gesture, creates a harmonious image. The proportions of the figures differ only slightly. The heads and hands of the Three Hebrews in the Nea Herakleia casket (smaller than in the *Traditio legis*), bring them closer to the depiction of the one from Milan. However, the Milan figures are slightly fuller and more muscular. This impression is enhanced by the close-fitting, sometimes transparent, garments, as over the messenger's right arm and his stomach, where the navel is visible. The clothing is closer to the body than in the casket from Nea Herakleia, so that there are fewer folds. This is especially noticeable in the legs, where only the trouser hems are carved, without any further indication of material over the limbs. The figures, as in the Nea Herakleia casket, emerge gradually from the background, reaching their highest points in the palms of the hands, raised chest-high, and the knees. Here, also, the high points make a fine line down the leg, where the light breaks, as if dividing the leg in two. As in Nea Herakleia, an outline runs between the figures and the surface, creating an illusion of shapes applied on a background, rather than springing up from it.[113]

The overall impression of the heads and faces of the figures in both caskets suggests a family relationship: the hair is curly, the heads bend slightly, the eyes follow in the same direction, looking rather shy. The turn of the head emphasizes one cheek and the forehead, and the eyes are rather deep inside. However, in Milan the curly hair is softer, the faces more oval, the eyes smaller and the lips less fleshy.

To sum up, the two caskets display a general similarity, but differ in detail. Both are rectangular, and have one composition on each side and the lid. The Three Hebrews panel of the S. Nazaro casket suggests that the artist was able to produce a similarly minimal composition without additional elements. Likewise,

[112] See above the discussion on iconography.

[113] This sense of application is clearly seen in the reproduction in W. F. Volbach and M. Hirmer, *Early Christian Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1961), fig. 110.

the style of the figures shows general points of resemblance, leaving no doubt that the two objects belong to the same artistic milieu. The differences probably reflect two workshops. Since the S. Nazaro casket is assigned to the last quarter of the fourth century,[114] I would say that the casket from Nea Herakleia is a product of the same time, but of a different workshop or even a different artistic centre.

This means that we should indeed look into silverware made in Rome during the second half of the fourth century. Perhaps the most famous treasure of that period is the one uncovered on the Esquiline in 1793. Based on inscribed monograms of the name Turcius, the treasure is most likely of Roman origin. The aristocratic Turcii family, one of whose members most probably owned the objects, was well known in fourth- and fifth-century Rome.[115] While no evident reliquaries were found in the treasure, the so-called Proiecta casket, possibly intended as part of a toilet service, is relevant for our purpose.[116]

At first sight, the Proiecta casket has nothing in common with the casket from Nea Herakleia apart from the material—silver, partly gilt. In shape and decorative content it seems a world apart.[117] The body and lid together form a truncated rectangular pyramid with sloping sides and a flat top. The relief on the sides of the lid, divided into four trapezoids by a leaf pattern, depicts the toilet of Venus, two sea *thiasoi*, and the arrival of Proiecta at a public bath (Fig. 32). The fifth panel, on the flat top of the lid, contains a double half-length portrait of a richly dressed man and woman within a leafy wreath (Fig. 33). Two flanking erotes support the wreath. It is generally accepted that the two half-figures on the lid represent Proiecta and [Turcius] Secundus, the names inscribed on the lid's base.[118] The body of the casket is also divided into four trapezoid panels by a running vine pattern; the panels contain depictions of Proiecta's toilet, and servants in procession, divided by columns and arches.

The Proiecta casket is larger and much more richly decorated than the caskets from Milan and Nea Herakleia. The artists working on it represented personages, architectural elements, and ornaments with great enthusiasm. However, the

[114] Alborino, *Das Silberkästchen*, 144–51.

[115] K. J. Shelton, *The Esquiline Treasure* (London: British Museum Publications, 1981), 31–2, 57.

[116] London, the Trustees of the British Museum, Inv. no. 66,12–29,1. The casket measures 56 × 43 × 28.6 cm. For the treasure see: S. Poglayen-Neuwall, 'Über die ursprünglichen Besitzer des spätantiken Silberfundes vom Esquilin und seine Datierung', *RQ* 45 (1930), 124–36; Shelton, *The Esquilin Treasure*, with extensive bibliography; A. Cameron, 'The Date and the Owners of the Esquiline Treasure', *AJA* 89 (1985), 135–45. For the casket see also: Buschhausen, cat. no. B7 with earlier bibliography; Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 310; Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century Classicism*, 162–5; K. S. Painter, 'Cofanetto di Proiecta', in S. Ensoli and E. Le Rocca (eds.), *Aurea Roma dalla città pagana alla città cristiana* (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 2000), cat. no. 115.

[117] The following stylistic comparison was published in my 'Workshops with Style: Minor Art in the Making', *BZ* 97 (2004), 531–42, esp. 532–6.

[118] The inscription begins with the monogram of Christ flanked by Alpha and Omega and continues with: SECVNDE ET PROIECTA VIVATIS IN CHRISTO. Shelton, *The Esquiline Treasure*, 31.

result of a comparison depends on the compositions compared. The Proiecta casket, like the one from S. Nazaro, shows that different compositions and variations of style can be found on one and the same object.[119] In studying the more representative depiction on the Esquiline casket, the rectangular lid panel, a striking resemblance with the Nea Herakleia emerges.

The busts of Proiecta and Secundus are very much related to the figure of Christ in the *Traditio legis* in the Nea Herakleia casket (Fig. 34). They have the same proportions, large heads and hands, broad chests. Proiecta's and Christ's hair seems to be made from the same mould. In both, the thick curls are set on top of each other like waves, forming a contour along the face. The hair is parted in the centre, on the foreheads of both figures falling in curls to the sides. Proiecta's forehead is as rectangular as Christ's, and her chin is rounded like his. Both have a gabled short nose and tight fleshy lips. Their eyes are of the same size and shape, and are set close together. Christ's and Proiecta's ears cannot be seen, but if we take Moses or Peter and compare them to Secundus or even to the erotes, it becomes clear that the relation of ear and hair is identical. The articulation of the head and the broad necks of Proiecta, Secundus, and Christ are also similar.

The likeness continues in the treatment of the garments. The relations between the soft clothes and the body correspond. The way the garment circles Secundus' hand and the number and shape of the folds are all exactly the same as in the figures of Christ or Paul. There are hardly any folds on the chest, in contrast to the arms and hands. Taking the comparison to other parts of the bridal casket, it is not difficult to find additional points of resemblance. However, in contrast to the portrait panel, the style of the trapezoid panels is free, less formal and has less in common with our casket.[120] Still, in the panel of the bath procession, Proiecta is seen in full figure, recalling the Christ.[121] Here too, the large head and hands are conspicuous. The bent right leg barely touches the ground, as if the whole weight of the body is on the straight left leg, which has hardly any volume. The same resemblance can be seen between the figure of Christ and the servant who

[119] It is of course hard to find any similarities between the toilet of Venus and the *Traditio legis* of Nea Herakleia. In fact, the two vessels have not been compared. Even Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century Classicism*, 164 and 184, who describes the style of the two objects in more or less the same terms—'a rather pedestrian attempt to create a work in the court style' (Proiecta), 'a somewhat mannered variation of the Constantinipolitan court style' (Nea Herakleia)—does not compare the two; Shelton did not compare the Nea Herakleia with the Proiecta casket since she concentrated on aristocratic finds, decorated chiefly with geometrical patterns and pagan figurative images, such as the Traprain Law treasure. Such finds are traditionally ascribed to Rome, a provenance that was not considered by scholars when dealing with the Nea Herakleia casket. Shelton, *The Esquiline Treasure*, 57 ff: 'The Esquiline Workshop and Related Treasures'.

[120] e.g. the figure of Paul as compared with the servant on Proiecta's right, in the toilet scene (ibid., pl. 8), or the central servant in the procession on the left end of the casket in comparison with Christ (ibid., pl. 9).

[121] Shelton, *The Esquiline Treasure*, pls. 6 and 10.

stands next to Proiecta in the bath scene. In addition, the line running down the leg, which we saw in the caskets from Nea Herakleia and S. Nazaro, appears here as well.

The vine scroll dividing the Proiecta casket into panels has a feature in common with the scroll of the Nea Herakleia, perhaps not apparent at first glance.[122] The surviving clusters of grapes on the Nea Herakleia are only fragmentary. Yet the one above Daniel's head and the one above the Three Hebrews have the look of those on the Proiecta casket, as for instance on the side borders.[123] Likewise, as far as can be deduced from the vestigial state of the Nea Herakleia border, the distance between the grape clusters and the vine leaves seems to be similar on both caskets. This is especially clear on the side and lower borders of the Proiecta and also in comparison with other works decorated with the vine scroll pattern.[124]

To sum up, comparison with the Proiecta casket shows that, stylistically speaking, the casket from Nea Herakleia has much more in common with the Roman work than with the reliquary from Milan. If one adds the resemblance in style to the conclusions reached concerning the themes of decoration, the casket could well appear to have been a Roman product.

Before going into the question of dating, I would like to compare the casket with two monumental works made in Rome during the second half of the fourth century. These are two sculptural reliefs from the same Roman workshop: one is the column sarcophagus from the Grotto of S. Pietro (Fig. 35)[125] and the other is the fragmentary sarcophagus panel in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Fig. 13).[126]

In the centre front of the column sarcophagus from S. Pietro is a representation of the *Traditio legis* scene. Christ is seated between the two central columns. Two young men, half-hidden (apostles?), flank Christ and under his feet is the bust of another young man (he might be Caelus, the personification of the sky). Christ's right hand is held in front of his chest while with his left hand he gives an open scroll to Peter, who stands between the next two columns. Paul is on the other side of Christ, also between two columns; his hands are raised in acclamation. The rest of the front carries representations of other apostles and also of the Sacrifice of Isaac and of Christ before Pilate. Without going into further detail, when we compare the figures of Peter and Paul with their parallels on the casket it

[122] Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century Classicism*, 164 n. 541, concerning the Proiecta casket: 'The vine scroll is used also on the Nea Herakleia reliquary, but the execution differs.'

[123] Shelton, *The Esquiline Treasure*, pl. 8. There are two kinds of grape clusters on the Proiecta casket, full and large, or smaller, like those of the reliquary.

[124] e.g. the fragmentary sarcophagus from the Metropolitan Museum, here Fig. 12, or the relief from Kara-Agatz in the Staatliche Museen Berlin (Brenk, 'Ein Scheinsarkophag', pl. 40, 2).

[125] Inv. Lat. 174; *Rep. I*, no. 677; Brenk, ibid., pl. 36.2. For the common workshop, ibid. 49.

[126] See above, n. 25.

becomes clear that the two works belong to the same artistic tradition.[127] There is a kind of general resemblance although the details are not alike. There is some similarity in the proportions of the figures and in the position of the legs and the gestures of the hands. No figure stands frontally or looks straight ahead. The physical shapes revealed by the garments, especially in the treatment of the legs, recall the casket, but no more than that. The division of the panels by the columns brings to mind the casket of Proiecta. The same can be said when comparing the casket with the fragmentary panel relief in New York, where the columns are topped with arches and between them, as in the Proiecta, are chalices with fruit below a register decorated with a vine scroll pattern.

The terminus post quem assigned to the two monumental works is the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, dated 359.[128] The relief in the Metropolitan and the column sarcophagus from the Grotto of S. Pietro are certainly a generation later, thus *c.*380.[129] Indeed, both are closer in style to Theodosian works than to the Bassus sarcophagus.[130] Shelton dates the Proiecta casket to 340–70. On the strength of a Damasian epitaph written in 383 in honour of a married woman named Proiecta, who died at the age of 16, others have dated the casket to 379–83.[131] Based on stylistic grounds, the later date was accepted by J. Dresken-Weiland.[132] All these objects display an eastern influence, but are individual Roman works produced in the city during the second half of the century, more precisely, around 380. The similarity in detail between the casket from Nea Herakleia and the casket of Proiecta, and the general resemblance of the two caskets to Roman monumental reliefs, suggest that the Nea Herakleia casket can be considered to belong to Theodosian Roman art of around 380. This agrees with Alborino's dating of the Milan casket in the early years of Ambrose's rule, 374–86, and with the programme of the casket, which also indicates Damasian Rome, 366–84.

B. THE SO-CALLED CAPSELLA BRIVIO

The oval casket in the Musée du Louvre is known by the name of its former location, Castello di Brivio, not far from Como. It was most probably found in

[127] Christ is seated in the *Traditio legis* scene rather than standing as in Nea Herakleia. However, on the relief from New York, which was made in the same workshop as Lat. 174 (Brenk, 'Ein Scheinsarkophag', 49), Christ is standing.

[128] Inscribed on the sarcophagus. *Rep. I*, no. 680.

[129] *Rep. I*, no. 677, third quarter of 4th cent. Kollwitz, 'Probleme', 222: a generation later than the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus; Brenk, 'Ein Scheinsarkophag' 49–52, agrees with Kollwitz and suggests a date earlier than 380–390 or 400–410 (the date of the sarcophagus from S. Francesco, Ravenna).

[130] Kollwitz, 'Probleme', 222; Brenk, 'Ein Scheinsarkophag', 49.

[131] Shelton discounts the association, having found that the two Proiectas are not the same person. See Shelton, *The Esquiline Treasure*, 37–40. For the epitaph, see Reutter, *Damasus*, 83, No. 51.

[132] Dresken-Weiland, *Reliefierte Tischplatten*, 39 n. 221.

the local church of S. Giovanni Battista and was first published in 1906.[133] The casket consists of two parts, a lid and a body, made of gilded silver. There is a simple latch on the front and one remaining hinge out of two on the back. When closed, the casket is 12 cm long, 5.5 cm wide, and 5.7 cm high.

Three scenes in embossed relief decorate the casket in three separate areas. The Raising of Lazarus appears on the lid (Fig. 3), the Adoration of the Magi on the front (Fig. 4), and the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace with a fourth figure—the servant stoking the fire—on the back (Fig. 5). Both rounded ends of the body are decorated with an architectural motif, in the shape of two towers and a gateway (Fig. 6). Four palm trees are included in the decoration programme: one on the lid next to Christ, two flanking the city gate on one end, and one beside the city gate on the other end. The borders of body and lid are decorated with a running leaf pattern.

The casket's place of origin is more or less agreed. Based on iconographical details, Árnason suggested a North Italian-Gallic origin, a view accepted by other scholars.[134] It has however been assigned various dates[135] probably because the

[133] Inv. Bj. 1951; Bozzi, C., 'La Capsella di Brivio e il suo contributo allo studio della primitiva chiesa plebana di Brivio', *Contributi dell'instituto di archeologia*, 1 (1967), 159–69; Buschhausen, cat. no. B14, pls. 45–7, with earlier bibliography; id. in Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no 571; *Milano capitale dell'impero romano 286–402 d.c., Milano, Palazzo Reale, 24 gennaio-22 aprile 1990* (Milan: Silvana, 1990), 350, cat. no. 5b2g (C. Compostella); E. Jastrzebowska, *Bild und Wort: das Marienleben und die Kindheit Jesu in der christlichen Kunst vom 4. bis 8. Jh. und ihre apokryphen Quellen*, Ph.D. thesis (Warsaw University, 1992), 243.

[134] Early publications described it as very close to, or influenced by, an oriental model, probably Syrian, which would make it an Italian copy of a Syrian model. See P. Lauer, 'La Capsella de Brivio', *Monuments et Mémoires*, 13 (1906), 229–40; Leclercq, H., s.v. 'Châsse', *DACL* 3/1 (1913), 1119. However, since Árnason, H. H., 'Early Christian Silver of North Italy and Gaul', *AB* 20/2 (1938), 193–226, argued that the choice of scenes and the magician-like figure of Christ 'place the casket at once in the west,' (p. 216) others have followed him. See for instance Buschhausen and Compostella. Some iconographical details appear 'Northern' to Árnason, for instance, the irregular hems of the Magi's tunics. Further, he finds the servant at the side of the furnace to be more frequent in Northern art than in most Roman depictions, where he kneels in front of it. The arched type of aedicule is also more frequent in the north.

[135] Leclercq, s.v. 'Châsse', wrote 'La date à laquelle remonte la châsse de Brivio semble devoir être le v siècle finissant, à une époque voisine de la châsse d'Henchir Zirara [i.e. the Capsella Africana, for which see Chapter 2A].' The association between the Brivio and the Africana (Figs. 7, 44–46) is evident. Both are of the same material, shape and more or less size. The edges of both are decorated with a running leaf pattern. The shape of the Brivio casket also matches other silver caskets dated between the fifth and seventh centuries: the oval casket from Grado (Figs. 69–72), the casket from Chersones (Fig. 79), the casket in a Swiss private collection and the Capsella Vaticana (Fig. 80) See Catalogue nos. 9, 11, 13, and 15. This large number of oval caskets would seem to testify to a traditional combination of shape and function. However, the shape does not necessarily guarantee a date. Árnason, 'Early Christian Silver', 215, is content with noting that the Brivio casket was earlier than the oval and round ones from Grado. (For the round casket from Grado, see Catalogue no. 14). Volbach in Volbach and Hirmer, *Early Christian Art*, no. 120, suggested the second half of the 5th cent. while Compostella in *Milano Capitale dell'impero romano*, 350, preferred the first half. In the catalogue of an exhibition held at the British Museum, *Wealth of the Roman World* (London: British Museum Publications, 1977), 94, the date was stretched to AD 600.

choice of scenes and ways of representation bring to mind early sarcophagi and catacomb paintings, and therefore one would tend to assign an early date to the casket, most likely the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century. Yet the rigid style of the figures cannot be aligned with that of other contemporary stylistic attitudes, such as the Theodosian style. The combination of commonly occurring 'old fashion' themes of decoration and an unusual style gives rise to disagreement on the date issue.

Out of the group of extant decorated silver caskets, the Brivio is not only one of the earliest oval examples adorned with biblical scenes,[136] but also the last of the early Christian period. Preceding it are two cubic caskets with biblical scenes, and following it, oval caskets decorated with symbolic motifs rather than narrative representations. These developments might be taken as random, due to lack of additional evidence, but, as will be argued below, the proposed dating of the casket is supported by its transitional character.

A Possible Conflation: The Raising of Lazarus and Noli me tangere

The scene of the Raising of Lazarus (John 11: 1–44) depicted on the lid can be divided into three parts: the first, on the left, pictures Lazarus standing in his tomb wrapped in a shroud. The tomb is represented by an aedicule consisting of three steps leading up to two convoluted columns with Corinthian capitals, joined by a cornice supporting a dome. The second part, on the right, contains a frontal view of the nimbed Christ, standing next to a palm tree. Christ is wearing a tunic and pallium; his left hand holds the draped garment while the right points a wand horizontally towards Lazarus' tomb, actually touching it. The third part is in the centre, under the wand stretching between Christ and the aedicule. There, a woman kneels on one knee.[137] Depicted in full profile, her look focuses on Christ and her right hand is tendered in a beseeching gesture. The kneeling woman and the act of resurrection signified by the wand form the centre of the composition.

The relief on the lid has been interpreted as a depiction of two episodes: 'The sister, Martha, kneeling in front of the tomb, and closely associated with Christ rather than with the tomb, is an excellent example of the Gallic form identified by Soper as a conflation of this scene [the Raising of Lazarus] with the miracle of the Woman with an Issue.'[138] The unusual location of the sister is not the only peculiar element in the picture. Other representations of the scene reveal further exceptional elements in the relief on the Brivio lid.

The frequent representations of the Resurrection of Lazarus do not always include a sister (there are sometimes two sisters), although the inclusion is quite

136 The oval silver lid in Sofia is probably earlier. See Catalogue no. 6.

137 She is usually identified as Martha; see discussion below.

138 Árnason, 'Early Christian Silver', 216. For the article by Soper see below n. 144.

common. On Constantinian sarcophagi the sister is carved crouching on the ground before her brother's tomb with her head in her hands.[139] In other examples her pose is closer to the one on the Brivio casket, where she is not crouching down, but kneeling on one knee. In these cases her hand touches Christ.[140] A depiction closer to that on the casket appears on a sarcophagus in the Museo Pio Cristiano, dated to the first quarter of the fourth century.[141] Here the aedicule is on the left, and Christ, shown frontally on the right, turns his head towards Lazarus and touches his head with a wand. In his left hand he holds a scroll. Lazarus' sister kneels on one knee before the tomb, between it and Christ, under Christ's elbow. With her right hand she clasps Christ's right knee.

One has to go beyond the early works to find a closer relation to the scene as depicted on the Brivio casket. In the five-part fifth-century ivory book cover in Milan, the composition is arranged in the opposite direction (Fig. 36).[142] The relief represents Christ at the left, while Lazarus in his tomb is on the right. As on the casket, Lazarus' sister is placed between Christ and the aedicule. She seems to be half-prostrate in the middle of the composition, below the wand, but her pose is not quite clear since the lower part of her body is obscured by the tomb. Her right hand touches Christ's left leg and behind her stands a witness to Christ's act. Lazarus' sister is thus placed in the middle but is not the focal point of the composition.

The above examples confirm the observation that Lazarus' sister is deliberately located closer to Christ than to her brother on the casket. The question is whether this is enough to determine that she and Christ form an additional episode. Other exceptional elements in the Brivio casket can be pointed out: the sister is not only closer to Christ, but she occupies the central position in the scene. Not absorbed by the background or the surroundings, she is accorded her own space. Moreover, she is not a small figure—a kind of attribute—helping to identify or decipher a scene, as on some of the sarcophagi. Her location and size ensure that she is far from a subordinate character.[143] Further, in examining the Christ–Lazarus relation in the examples above, one sees that, contrary to the sarcophagi and the ivory, where Christ looks at Lazarus, and the aedicule and Christ are placed closer to each other, on the silver casket Christ makes minimum contact with Lazarus: there is only a slight touch of the wand, his body does not face Lazarus nor does he look in his direction.

[139] e.g. *Rep. I*, no. 807. [140] e.g. *Rep. I*, no. 919.

[141] *Rep. I*, no. 8.

[142] Milan, Cathedral Treasury, Inv, no. 1385; Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, cat. no. 119.

[143] R. Darmstädter, *Die Auferweckung des Lazarus in der altchristlichen und byzantinischen Kunst*, Ph.D. thesis (Bern: 1955), 14–16, describes Lazarus' sister on the frieze sarcophagi as small, in proskynesis pose, but adds that she is emphasized and that Lazarus is totally in the background, giving more weight to the act of begging.

To sum up, the exceptional elements of the composition on the Brivio lid are: (1) the location of the sister, closer to Christ than to her brother and his tomb; (2) the sister's central position in the composition; and (3) the disconnection between Christ and Lazarus, the direct object of the resurrection act. These unusual elements could be substantial, suggesting that reading the composition as simply the Raising of Lazarus might be insufficient, and that the picture may have an additional meaning. Before an answer is formulated, we must decide by comparison with other representations whether Soper's theory, adopted by Árnason, of the conflation of two scenes is relevant here.

Alexander C. Soper suggested that a group of sarcophagi made in Gallic workshops displays such a conflation of the Raising of Lazarus with the Miracle of the Haemorrhoissa (Matthew 9: 20–2; Mark 5: 25–34; Luke 8: 43–8).[144] Starting with a comparison between a sarcophagus in Clermont-Ferrand,[145] and one in Arles,[146] he noticed a development in representing the scene of the Raising of Lazarus. The Clermont-Ferrand sarcophagus shows Christ standing, with his back to the viewer, in front of the aedicule of Lazarus' tomb. Behind Christ stands a woman and next to her is an additional Christ figure, making a separate scene. The second Christ faces the viewer; a kneeling woman is depicted at his side. He points with his hand towards her, she looks at his knee, her face almost entirely covered. According to Soper, this is most probably the Healing of the Woman with the Issue of Blood.

The second sarcophagus, in Arles, presents a variation of the same episodes (Fig. 37). Christ stands next to Lazarus' tomb. A woman kneels next to him and in the background, between the woman and Christ, the head of another female figure is visible. Soper thinks that here we see Lazarus with his two sisters: the one in front is Martha, who also represents the Haemorrhoissa. Since the figure apparently has two identities, Martha and the Haemorrhoissa, Christ need be shown only once, not twice as on the other sarcophagus. To support his interpretation, Soper quotes an early Christian text, 'once ascribed to S. Ambrose',[147] which identifies Martha as the Haemorrhoissa: *dum largum sanguinis fluxum siccat in Martha, dum daemones pellit ex Maria, dum corpus redivivi spiritus calore constringit in Lazaro*. The Arles sarcophagus, then, represents a scene which is actually 'a double miracle showing Christ with all three, Lazarus,

[144] A. C. Soper, 'The Latin Style on Christian Sarcophagi of the Fourth Century', *AB* 19 (1937), 148–202, esp. 183–6.

[145] Ibid., fig. 33; *Rep. III*, no. 218.

[146] Soper, 'The Latin Style', fig. 34; *Rep. III*, no. 34.

[147] Soper, 'The Latin Style', 183: *Sermones S. Ambrosio Hactenus Ascripti*, Sermo XLVI, De Salomone, caput IV.14 (*PL* 17, col. 698).

Martha, and Mary'.[148] Soper then goes a step further by adducing the 'Two Brothers sarcophagus' in the Museo Pio Cristiano, where only one woman is seen, a little bent, close to the aedicule, beside Christ and kissing his hand (Fig. 38).[149] Here, according to Soper, Mary is absent, only Martha–Haemorrhoissa is depicted.

Looking at the last example, it seems reasonable to assume that this was the work which made Árnason adopt the conflation idea for the Brivio casket, since the scene of the raising of Lazarus on the casket includes only one sister. However, on the sarcophagus the woman stands behind Christ and is much farther from the aedicule. On the casket she is between the aedicule and Christ. This is not the only difficulty in Árnason's interpretation. Recently it has been argued convincingly that the Haemorrhoissa in the examples cited by Soper and Árnason, including the Brivio casket, is misinterpreted, for several reasons:[150] (1) the woman's gesture suggests a dialogue with Christ, which contradicts the accidental meeting with the Haemorrhoissa, as told in Luke 8: 44; (2) the woman does not touch the hem of Christ's garment, thus the main symbol of the story is lacking; (3) she does not surprise Christ from the back as in Luke 8: 44, but, rather, is represented between Christ and the aedicule. Apart from the question of correlation with the text, for our purposes the correlation with other visual representations is even more interesting. There are at least two examples in which the Haemorrhoissa is represented next to the Raising of Lazarus, but there the composition is totally different from the one in Brivio: the woman *stands* next to Christ and *pulls* at his garment, while he raises Lazarus. One of these examples even carries an inscription referring to the Haemorrhoissa and Lazarus.[151] In these combinations, the identity of the scenes is beyond doubt, suggesting again

[148] Soper, 'The Latin Style', 184; In *Rep. III*, 19, the conflation is interpreted as the Raising of Lazarus with Christ and the Canaanite woman.

[149] Soper, 'The Latin Style', 185; Vatican, Museo Pio Cristiano; *Rep. I*, no. 45.

[150] D. Knipp, *'Christus Medicus' in der frühchristlichen Sarkophagskulptur; ikonographische Studien der Sepulkralkunst des späten vierten Jahrhunderts,* Vigiliae Christianae Suppl., 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 97–9.

[151] A textile fragment with a depiction of the Raising of Lazarus (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv. no. 722–1897), dated to the 5th cent., shows a standing woman holding Christ's garment with her right hand. She is identified by an inscription as the Woman with the Issue of Blood. See Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 391; S. Frerich, 'Zur Deutung der Szene "Frau vor Christus" auf frühchristlichen Sarkophagen', in *Stimuli, Festschrift für E. Dassmann*, JbAC Suppl., 23 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1996), 568. The same composition appears on an ivory casket now in the Vatican, Museo Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica, dated to the 6th cent. See Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, cat. no. 182. Both works are said to be from Egypt. For a comparison of them see: Knipp, *'Christus Medicus'*, 99–100. Another example is the ivory panel in the Louvre, dated to the beginning of the 5th cent., Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, cat. no. 113, in which the kneeling woman seizes Christ's garment and he turns his head back to see who has touched him. For the iconography of the Haemorhoissa see M. Perraymond, 'L'emorroissa e la cananea nell'arte paleocristiana', *Bessarione*, 5 (1986), 147–74; id., s.v. 'Emorroissa', in F. Bisconti (ed.), *Temi di iconografia paleocristiana* (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 2000), 171–3.

that the kneeling woman in Brivio is simply one of Lazarus' sisters.[152] However, as will be suggested below, there could be an alternative reading.

So far, the comparison with other representations of the Raising of Lazarus leaves the discussion open. The unusual composition can be approached in two ways. The first is to accept the components of the picture as they stand: the kneeling woman is one of Lazarus' sisters, either Mary or Martha. Assuming that she is Mary, support is found in the text, which says that she was the sister who knelt down before Christ beside the tomb (John 11: 32); the central location of the sister would then be seen as emphasizing her task as mediator between her brother and Christ, between believers and God. The viewers, like Lazarus' sister, hope for resurrection. Another possibility is to think of the sister as Martha, with no additional identities. If so, the reading of the scene would be more symbolic, for according to the text she did not kneel. Yet, her dialogue with Christ is the focus of the whole narrative of the Raising of Lazarus (John 11: 23–6)[153]: Christ promises, 'Thy brother shall rise again.' Martha says, 'I know that he shall rise again in the resurrection at the last day,' and Christ answers 'I am the resurrection, and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: And whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die.' This dialogue clearly points to the resurrection of the dead and indicates an eschatological future.[154]

To identify the kneeling woman as one of the sisters to some extent implies taking for granted the unusual elements in the composition, especially the distance between Christ and Lazarus. A second way of interpreting the composition, then, is to look, as Árnason did, for an additional scene, namely, a conflation of two episodes other than the Raising of Lazarus and the Haemorrhoissa. There are several options in interpreting the kneeling figure,[155] yet, as will be suggested below, only one of them seems plausible, if indeed, as I think, the artist intended more than a Raising of Lazarus.

Not having found further representations of the Raising of Lazarus with similar relations between the figures, we may go on to consider other appearances of a kneeling female figure next to Christ in which the woman has a prominent

[152] Knipp, '*Christus Medicus*', 98–9.

[153] J. P. Martin, 'History and Eschatology in the Lazarus Narrative; John 11.1–44', *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 17 (1964), 332–43, esp. 339; R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John, a Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971), 395, 400–4.

[154] Martin, 'History and Eschatology', 338; Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 392, 402–4; For an exegesis of the dialogue between Martha and Christ as referring to the resurrection of the flesh see Petrus Chrysologus, *PL* 52, sermon 63, esp. cols. 378–9. See also the use of the dialogue in the obituary Ambrose of Milan wrote for his brother's funeral, *De excessu fratris sui satyri,* II *De Fide resurrectionis* (*PL* 16, col. 1337).

[155] On the problem of interpreting the feminine figure next to Christ see Frerich, 'Zur Deutung', 557–74, who concludes among others that there is no systematic scheme for rendering the various biblical feminine figures. Those depicted in the proskynesis posture, such as the wife of Jairus, will not be discussed here. For their representation and the imperial background of the proskynesis, see: Deckers, 'Vom Denker zum Diener', 151–4, with bibliography.

role in the composition. Defining the options of interpretation and the variations of the meeting between the two figures may throw some light on the Brivio depiction. The closest parallels to our casket occur in two different media. One is the central left scene on the front panel of the ivory Lipsanoteca from Brescia, dated to the last quarter of the fourth century (Fig. 39).[156] The other is the scene located on the right side panel of a sarcophagus from S. Pietro in the Vatican, dated to the third quarter of the fourth century.[157] The nature of the depictions makes their interpretation controversial.

On one side of the ivory casket the Raising of Lazarus is represented next to the Healing of the Man Born Blind. Lazarus' sister does not appear. A section of the central front panel can be compared to the Brivio casket. The panel is divided into three parts: Christ teaching in the centre; as the Good Shepherd on the right (John 10: 11–12);[158] and standing next to a kneeling woman on the left. The direction and position of the latter two figures is similar to the Brivio example, except that in the ivory casket the woman touches Christ's robe and there are a column and a tree in the background. Interpretation of the scene varies: the Healing of the Haemorrhoissa,[159] Christ with the Canaanite woman (Matthew 15: 22–8; Mark 7: 25–30),[160] *Noli me tangere* (John 20: 14–17 and a reference in Mark 16: 9),[161] and the dialogue between Christ and Martha before the resurrection of her brother (John 11: 21–7).[162] The deciphering of the scene is problematic for two reasons: one is the lack of details which could have helped to tell one woman from the other. All the possible candidates could be rendered in a kneeling position. The other is the contradictory detail of the narrative: the female figure touches Christ's clothing, therefore she must be the Haemorrhoissa.

[156] Brescia, Santa Giulia; Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 107; Kollwitz, J., *Die Lipsanothek von Brescia*, Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte, 7 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter & Co., 1933); *Probleme der Lipsanothek in Brescia* (Bonn: P. Hanstein, 1952); C. J. Watson, 'The Program of the Brescia Casket', *Gesta*, 20 (1981), 283–98; and recently, C. B. Tkacz, *The Key to the Brescia Casket: Typology and Early Christian Imagination* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001).

[157] *Rep. I*, no. 677, fig. 677, 2.

[158] F. J. Dölger, *Ichtys, die Fisch-Denkmäler in der frühchristlichen Plastik Malerei und Kleinkunst*, 4 vols. (Münster: Aschendorff, 1928), 2. 29–30 n. 3.

[159] Kollwitz, *Lipsanothek*, 22; Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, cat. no. 107; Watson, 'The Program', 285; Tkacz, *The Key*, 31, 105.

[160] J. Wilpert, 'Wahre und falsche Auslegung der altchristlichen Sarkophagskulpturen I', *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, 46 (1922), 1–19, esp. 10; Knipp, *'Christus Medicus'*, 110, suggested that the representation in Brescia is modelled after the iconography of *Restitutor Provinciae*, and this may fit the Canaanite woman. However, interpretation on the basis of a model presents difficulties; for instance, the context can not be ignored.

[161] G. Stuhlfauth, 'Zwei Streitfragen der altchristlichen Ikonographie', *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde von der Älteren Kirche*, 23 (1924), 48–64, esp. 62 (the sinful woman); Dölger, *Ichtys*, 29–30 n. 3 decides according to the context in which the scene is located: Daniel in the Lions' Den, Jonah, Susanna. For other references see Kollwitz, *Lipsanothek*, 21–2 and Watson, 'The Program', 294 n. 19.

[162] Kollwitz, *Lipsanothek*, 22.

Yet at the same time she kneels in front of him, hence, she does not surprise him from the back.[163]

A similar problem of interpretation occurs when one tries to read the right side panel of the sarcophagus from S. Pietro in the Vatican. Christ stands on the right, his body frontal, his head in profile. His right hand lightly touches the head of the kneeling woman. Refraining from physical contact, her hands only stretch towards his knees. There are rather elaborate city structures in the background. As was to be expected, this scene has also received several interpretations: the miracle of the Woman with the Issue of Blood, the Canaanite woman and *Noli me tangere*.[164] The relationship of the two figures calls to mind the scene on the Brescia ivory. Although there the woman touches Christ, whereas on the sarcophagus Christ touches her, their distance from each other, and especially their comparative proportions, seem very similar. Corresponding elements appear in the scene on the silver casket, although without the physical contact: in all three works the woman kneels in front of Christ, under his hand. Her knees are drawn away from him, her hands go out to him. Christ himself is frontal and does not look back.

Whatever the identity of the woman on the ivory and on the sarcophagus may be, the depictions, one on a small sized object, the other on a monumental one, bring the casket from Brivio into a line of representations with similar relations between the two figures. Still, unlike the ivory and the sarcophagus, there is no physical contact on the lid. This difference may be the key to the problem: on the one hand, there is a resemblance in the relation of the figures and their overall design; on the other, there is the clear difference of no physical touch. This then is the detail enabling the scene to be read and identified. If, besides the Raising of Lazarus, an additional subject was meant to be included in the composition, this would most probably be the Meeting of Christ with Mary Magdalen. The lack of physical contact is the essence of their meeting in the garden after Christ's Resurrection (John 20: 14–17).

One cannot ignore the fact that the various iconographical lexicons do not provide early Christian examples of *Noli me tangere*.[165] The enigmatic lid panel

[163] As e.g. in a wall painting in the Catacomb of SS. Marcellinus and Pietro, where the illustration follows the biblical narrative more closely; Deckers et al., *La Catacomba dei Santi Marcellino e Pietro*, pl. 43. Another monumental example can be seen on the side panel of the sarcophagus from S. Maria presso S. Celso in Milan (Knipp, '*Christus Medicus*', fig. 15). An example of such a depiction on a portable object is the fragmentary bronze casket in Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum. See Buschhausen, cat. no. A54, pl. 63; E. J. Clauss-Thomassen, 'Fragmente eines Kästchenbeschlages', in J. Engemann and C. Rüger (eds.), *Spätantike und frühes Mittelalter: Ausgewählte Denkmäler im Rheinischen Landesmuseum Bonn* (Bonn: Rheinland, 1991), 305–12.

[164] *Rep. I*, no. 677.

[165] s.v. 'noli me tangere', *LCI* 3 (1974, repr. 1990), 332–6: the earliest example mentioned there is a miniature in the Drogo Sacramentary, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Lat. 9428, fol. 63v, dated to the 9th cent.; Cf. G. Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1986), 3. 95–8, where the earliest examples are also of the 9th cent.

has no parallels either. Perhaps the scene in Brivio is a forerunner of the representation of Christ's meeting with the Magdalen.[166] The text by Pseudo Ambrose from which Soper quotes the identification of Martha with the Haemorrhoissa, mentions, in the same sentence, a Mary from whom the demons were expelled: '*dum largum sanguinis fluxum siccat in Martha, dum daemones pellit ex Maria, dum corpus redivivi spiritus calore constringit in Lazaro*.'[167] In this context, of Martha and Lazarus, the text can only be understood as identifying Mary from Bethany (where Lazarus' house was situated) with Mary Magdalen, from whom seven demons were expelled (Luke 8: 2). The double identification in Pseudo Ambrose is usually dated after the fifth century, to the time of Gregory the Great (540–604),[168] but was probably already developed by Ambrose (see below) and Cassian.[169] The shared name and the act of anointing Christ probably led to the conflation. Magdalen was supposed to be the 'woman who was a sinner', who anointed Christ's feet in Simon's house (Luke 7: 37), as Mary did in Bethany (John 12: 3). In addition, Magdalen was one of the holy women who discovered the empty tomb and heard the announcement of Christ's Resurrection (Matthew 28: 5–7; Mark 16: 6–7; Luke 24: 5–8). She also had the privilege of meeting the Risen, first alone (Mark 16: 9 without details and John 20: 14–17 *Noli me tangere*), and then with the other Mary (Matthew 28: 9–10 *chairete*).

Could the work of art be a forerunner of the securely dated textual sources? Ambrose himself was wrestling with the question of identity: 'Were there Mary, the sister of Lazarus, and Mary Magdalene, or more people?'[170] Posing the question seems to indicate that such a conflation was known, or that a confusion

[166] Another problematic identification of a kneeling female figure occurs on a gold glass medallion in the Museo Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica, Inv. no. 60681; Ch. R. Morey, *The Gold-glass Collection of the Vatican Library* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1959), 33, cat. no. 165, pl. XXI; U. Utro, 'Temi biblici nella collezione di medaglioni vitrei con figure in oro del Museo Cristiano', *Monumenti musei e gallerie pontificie*, 20 (2000), 53–84, esp. 81–3, fig. 22. The kneeling woman is seen in three-quarter view. Her hands are stretched forward, towards a second figure on a corresponding medallion which represents Christ holding a stick in his right hand. Utro thinks that most likely the woman can be interpreted as the Haemorhoissa. Yet she does not touch Christ's robe. Perhaps this is simply due to the fact that he is represented in a second medallion. But he does not look back in surprise, and he holds a wand, which clearly has nothing to do with the Cure of the Woman with the Issue of Blood. Perhaps this medallion should be studied together with others, representing the Raising of Lazarus, as, for instance, a gold glass medallion from the Vatican Library collection (Inv. no. 60673). See Morey, *The Gold-glass Collection*, 32–3, cat. no. 158, pl. XXI and Utro, 'Temi biblici', fig. 24.

[167] See above, n. 147.

[168] Homily 25, delivered in the Lateran church *PL* 76, col. 1189 and Homily 33, on Luke, delivered at the Basilica of S. Clement in Rome, *PL* 76, col. 1239.

[169] A. Anstett-Janssen, s.v. 'Maria Magdalena', *LCI* 7 (1974, repr. 1990), 516; S. Haskins, *Mary Magdalen. Myth and Metaphor* (London: Harper Collins, 1993), 93–5.

[170] *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam* I 13a (*PL* 15, col. 1671): *Maria, soror Lazari, ac Maria Magdalenae, plures personae fuerunt*. In bk. 10 of the same exposition Ambrose suggests the conflation of the Marys: *ergo si plures Mariae, plures fortasse etiam Magdalenae, cum illud personae nomen sit, hoc locorum*. (*PL* 15, col. 1843).

existed between the women named Mary.[171] In any case, a descriptive analogy between the two resurrections, that of Christ and that of Lazarus, was made by John (11: 33–44). Lazarus and Christ not only face death but enter it. In both cases stones cover the tombs and are later removed. Lazarus is raised and comes forth with his shroud, Christ leaves his behind, folded and laid aside. Lazarus will need it again, Christ not.[172] The Raising of Lazarus is a predecessor of the Resurrection and a precursor of the Last Day. Mary testifies to the resurrection of her brother and of Christ. Both promise true believers redemption from death. It would however be premature to conclude that the textual conflation is reflected in the representation on the casket lid before studying visual conflations around the last quarter of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth.

In fact, combinations of scenes were already represented in the first quarter of the fourth century, as for example on the so-called Adam and Eve sarcophagus in Arles, made in Rome *c.*325.[173] There are two definite conflations on the front, one the only known combination of the Miracle of the Loaves and Fish with the Healing of the Blind and the other the Healing of the Blind with the Healing of the Canaanite or the Haemorrhoissa. Also, on a last quarter of the fourth century column sarcophagus found in Gaul, today in the Musée Granet in Aix-en-Provence, the second niche on the right contains a depiction of the Healing of the Blind and of the Haemorrhoissa.[174] Christ stands in the middle, flanked by two apostles. In front of the apostle on Christ's left is the small figure of the blind man. A small female figure kneels in front of the apostle on Christ's right. Christ's body is frontal but his right hand is stretched to the left, touching the eyes of the blind man. At the same time his head turns to the other side, looking down at the kneeling woman who is touching his knee with her right hand.[175] In Ambrose's commentary on the Gospel of Luke he sees the blind man from Jericho as another typos for the Gentiles, who would thus be connected with the woman symbolizing the church of the Gentiles.[176] However, the combination here may be

[171] Cf. Haskins, *Mary Magdalen*, 16, 90–7.

[172] Martin, 'History and Eschatology', 342; Maurer, H., s.v. 'Lazarus von Bethanien', *LCI* 3 (1971, repr. 1990), 33–8, esp. 33. On understanding the miracle of Lazarus' resurrection as the future Resurrection, see Tertulian, *De resurrectione mortuorum*, 38 and 53, *CCSL* 2 (1954), 971 and 998.

[173] Arles, Musée de l'Arles et de la Provence antiques; *Rep. III*, no. 38; Engemann, *Deutung und Bedeutung*, 67, fig. 54.

[174] *Rep. III*, no. 22; Knipp, *'Christus Medicus'*, 136–7, fig. 24.

[175] The Healing of the Blind and the Haemorrhoissa appeared together on the lid of a lost sarcophagus in Marseilles, see Dresken-Weiland, J., 'Ein oströmischer Sarkophag in Marseille', *RQ* 92 (1997), 1–17; as well as on a fragment of a column sarcophagus from Thézan-les-Béziers, dated to the last quarter of the fourth century. *Rep. III*, no. 512; See also a fragment of a 5th-cent. bronze casket with the Healing of the Blind conflated with the Haemorrhoissa in L. Wamser (ed.), *Die Welt von Byzanz—Europa östliches Erbe, Glanz, Krisen und Fortleben einer tausendjährigen Kultur; Archäologische Staatssammlung München—Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte München, Begleitbuch zur Ausstellung vom 22.10.2004 bis 3.4.2005* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2004), 263, cat. no. 398.

[176] Ambrosius, *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam* VIII 80, *CCSL* 14 (1957), 329; Knipp, *'Christus Medicus'*, 136–7.

related to the chronology of the Gospel text. The story of the cure of the two blind men from Jericho (Matthew 9: 27–31) is told in the same chapter as the cure of the Haemorrhoissa (Matthew 9: 20–2).

A different combination is represented in the fragment of a strigil sarcophagus in Arles, Musée de l'Arles et de la Provence antiques, where the left end is devided into two registers.[177] The upper one contains a depiction of Christ meeting the Samaritan. The lower shows the youthful Christ in the middle, walking to the right, his right hand raised in a speech gesture, towards a tree on which sits Zacchaeus (Luke 19: 1–5). Behind Christ, in the left corner, a kneeling or crouching female figure touches Christ's right thigh. Unlike the conflation on the column sarcophagus in Aix-en-Provence, this combination of Zacchaeus and the Cure of the Woman is not based on the Gospels. Wilpert and recently Knipp suggest that it is influenced by the writings of Ambrose, where the Haemorrhoissa represents the *ecclesia ex gentibus* and Zacchaeus is a typos for the *populus gentiles*.[178]

The idea of bringing two scenes together continued into the fifth century, as, for instance, on the so called reliquary of SS. Julitta and Quiricus in Ravenna, dated to the first half of the fifth century (Figs. 16–19).[179] The narrow panels of the rectangular marble casket represent the *Traditio legis* and Daniel in the Lions' Den. The broad panels show the Adoration of the Magi and a peculiar conflation of Christ's Resurrection with his Ascension to heaven: the two holy women are kneeling on the left, one behind the other, their hands covered by their cloaks. The first woman's hands cling to Christ, who is taking the first step on his ascent to heaven. His legs have a forward movement, but his head turns back to the women. In his left hand he holds a cross staff and his right hand is grasped by the hand of God descending from above. On the right side of the picture is a city gate. Thus, the relief pictures the meeting of Christ with the two women after his Resurrection (Matthew 28: 9–10), and at the same time his Ascension (Mark 16: 19; Luke 24: 51; Acts 1: 9). Whereas in the Aix-en-Provence sarcophagus two neighbouring scenes are combined, in the marble reliquary the treatment is sequential.

Although the provenance of these three examples of conflation is not certain, they all ended up in North Italy or Gaul.[180] All are rendered in sculptured relief

[177] *Rep. III*, no. 86; Knipp, '*Christus Medicus*', 134–5, fig. 23.

[178] Merkle, S., 'Die ambrosianischen Tituli', *RQ* 10 (1896), 219, no. 15: *Zacheus in ramo est, rapti iam prodigus auri, feminaque immundum miratur stare cruorem*. Knipp, '*Christus Medicus*', 135; G. Wilpert, *Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. Bis XIII. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1917), 830; see also Soper, 'The Latin Style', 184 n. 101.

[179] See Section A, n. 31.

[180] The sarcophagi were attributed to Gaul by most scholars. See for instance, G. Koch, *Frühchristliche Sarkophage*, Handbuch der Archäologie, 6 (Munich: Beck, 2000), 483–4, fig. 148 (Aix-en-Provence), 487 n. 106 (Arles) with further bibliography. However, recent publications reassign these sarcophagi to Rome. See J. Dresken-Weiland's review of Koch in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 254 (2002), 28–46, esp. 43 and the sarcophagi entries *Rep. III*, nos. 22, 38.

and have one feature in common with the Brivio lid: the kneeling figure. Further, both in the marble reliquary and in the Brivio casket the conflation of scenes is connected to the Resurrection of Christ. However, there is an essential difference between the marble panel and the lid: the scenes combined into one picture in Ravenna are two episodes of a narrative sequence. Only the Arles fragment represents a combination of two unconnected stories, the conflation quite probably being based on the writings of Ambrose. Perhaps in Brivio as well, the joining of the Raising of Lazarus with *Noli me tangere* reflects the conflation or, better, the confusion that existed between the women named Mary at the time of Ambrose. The Brivio relief may represent a link in the chain of works found in North Italian–Gallic localities, combining scenes to evoke an additional, somewhat deeper, meaning.

To sum up: the exceptional elements in the composition of the lid suggest that one should look for an alternative reading of the picture. After comparing Christ and the kneeling woman with other representations, two possibilities remain. Either the artist intended to emphasize the role of Lazarus' sister as a true believer in Christ, praying for resurrection and salvation, or he meant to depict Mary, Lazarus' sister, in her additional identity as Mary Magdalen. Such a conflation might have been original but was not unique. As the examples show, there are works, in different media, around the last quarter of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth, in which two scenes are depicted jointly. The comparisons support the possibility that the relief on the Brivio lid represents the Raising of Lazarus together with *Noli me tangere*, a meaningful composition which alludes to the Resurrection of Christ. The next step will be to align this interpretation with the context presented by the decoration on the casket's body.

The Adoration of the Magi and the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace

Three groups of motifs decorate the body of the Brivio casket. The Adoration of the Magi and the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace are located on the broad sides of the oval body, while palm trees and architectural elements shaped as city gates adorn the two rounded ends. The visual association of the Adoration and Furnace scenes is known in early Christian art, and has been studied.[181] It appears, as we have seen (Section A) on an earlier silver casket, the one from S. Nazaro. The following inquiry will treat each scene separately, but will also deal with the juxtaposition of the two stories.

The Adoration of the Magi (Matthew 2: 9–11) is represented on the front of the body (Fig. 4). Mary sits in full profile on the left, on a high-backed chair. Her face resembles that of Lazarus' sister on the lid. She wears a tunic and palla. With both

[181] K. M. Irwin, *The Liturgical and Theological Correlations in the Association of Representations of the Three Hebrews and the Magi in the Christian Art of Late Antiquity*, Ph.D. thesis (Berkeley, 1985); Kulczak–Rudiger and Terbuyken, 'Jünglinge in Feuerofen', 381–2.

hands she holds the Christ child, also in full profile, on her left knee. Mary's legs are stretched forward. She sits calmly, her right hand even drawn back a little. The Christ child is perched on her raised left knee, stretching his hands forward to welcome the guests and receive their gifts. He wears what looks like a tunic and pallium. His long hair resembles that of the adult Christ on the lid. The three Magi are striding vigorously towards Christ and the Virgin, each carrying an oval shaped gift in his outheld hands. They wear oriental clothing: Phrygian hats, short tunics with long sleeves, belted under the armpits, and trousers. Their hands with the presents and the Christ child's hands are on the same horizontal line.

During the early Christian period the Adoration of the Magi was represented in one of two compositions. Most commonly found is the 'dynamic' horizontal composition, as on the Brivio casket, in which the Magi walk from one side of a panel towards the Virgin and Child on the other side.[182] The centralized composition in which the scene is arranged around a figure of the enthroned Mary is less frequent.[183] The dynamic type was probably the earlier. The biblical text does not give the number of Magi, their ages, what vessels contained the gifts or any other descriptive detail, apart from the star they followed and the three gifts: gold, frankincense, and myrrh. In accordance with the number of gifts, the Magi were already understood as three by Origen of Alexandria in the first half of the third century.[184] In most of the horizontal compositions this is the number of the Magi, as also on the Brivio casket. There are depictions where the Magi are accompanied by camels,[185] directed by the star they follow,[186] or holding specific gifts.[187] More than once, the middle Magus looks back, away from Christ.[188]

[182] For examples and use of the term 'dynamische' see: J. G. Deckers, 'Die Huldigung der Magier in der Kunst der Spätantike', in *Die Heiligen Drei Könige—Darstellung und Verehrung*, *Katalogue zur Ausstellung des Wallarf-Richartz-Museums in der Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle Köln 1.12.1982–30.1.1983* (Cologne: Wallarf-Richartz-Museum, 1982), 20–32.

[183] As for instance on the casket from S. Nazaro (Fig. 29) and on a marble krater from Rome, Museo Nazionale (H.-G. Severin, 'Oströmische Plastik unter Valens und Theodosius I', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, NS 12 (1970), 210–52, fig. 5); for representations on sixth-century ivories see Engemann, *Deutung und Bedeutung*, 49–50; for monumental representations of the centralized composition see A. Weis, s.v. 'Drei Könige', *LCI* 1 (1968, repr. 1990), 539–49. Also D. Korol, 'Ein frühes Zeugnis für ein mit einer neutestamentlichen Szene geschmücktes "Templon"; die Darstellung der Magierhuldigung aus einer Kirche des 5. Jh. in Trani', *JbAC* 39 (1996), 200–24, esp. 218–20.

[184] Origen, *Homilies on Genesis* 14.3; W. A. Baehrens (ed.), *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, Origines Werke, 6 (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1920); Deckers, 'Die Huldigung', 22; E. Dassmann, 'Epiphanie und die heiligen Drei Könige', in *Die heiligen Drei Könige*, 16–19, n. 17.

[185] e.g. *Rep. III*, nos. 37, 38.

[186] As on a sarcophagus in S. Vitale, Ravenna, Kollwitz and Herdejürgen, *Die Ravennatische Sarkophage*, cat. no. B3; *Rep. II*, no. 378.

[187] As on a pyxis in the Museo Bargello in Florence. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, cat. no. 171.

[188] For instance, on a side panel of the sarcophagus of Catervius from Tolentino Cathedral (*Rep. II*, no. 148, pl. 57, 2); an ivory panel from the Victoria and Albert Museum (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, cat. no. 118) and the Milan ivory (fig. 36), n. 142 above.

Sometimes Balaam stands behind Mary's chair, reminding the viewer of his prophecy 'There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel' (Numbers 24: 17).[189] None of these occur in the Adoration on the Brivio casket.

The closest parallel to the Brivio adoration scene, although it runs in the opposite direction, the Magi walking from left to right, seems to be the Adoration on the so-called Reliquary of SS. Jullita and Quiricus, in the Archiepiscopal Museum in Ravenna (Fig. 17).[190] As already noted, the reliquary is dated to the beginning of the fifth century; it is decorated with four scenes. The Adoration of the Magi is on a broad panel, opposite a panel representing a conflation of the Resurrection and Ascension, and between a *Traditio legis* and Daniel in the Lions' Den. The Virgin is seated at the right on a high-backed wicker chair. She wears a tunic and palla. Her feet rest on a suppedaneum. With both hands she holds back her child who is perched naked on her right knee, as if leaping to receive the guests and the gifts. His head is at the same distance from Mary's head as from that of the first Magus. The thrusting pose of Christ's body is balanced by the three vigorous Magi approaching from the left. The first one is bearded. They wear short tunics, trousers, and short coats with Phrygian hoods. They hold oval plates bearing various objects. Whatever the differences in minor matters, such as the Magi's cloaks, the laden plates and Mary's foot-stool, the Adoration on the marble casket shares an important artistic attitude with the scene on the Brivio one: the lack of additional narrational details. There is no star for the Magi to follow, and there are no camels in the background. The artists of both caskets emphasize the same elements: the horizontal axis made by the child and the Magi's hands and gifts, and the distance the child assumes from his mother in order to greet the guests. Mary has a minor role in the picture. She sits peacefully, one leg drawn back.

Contrary to depictions of the Adoration in which Mary and her position as an enthroned mother are the centre of the scene, the horizontal compositions emphasize the meeting between Christ and the Magi. It is accepted by scholars that these compositions represent the Epiphany and the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles, personified by the Magi. This interpretation of the event was already made by Augustine (d. 430), as well as Pope Leo I (d. 461).[191] Identifying the Magi as the characteristic typoi for the Gentiles may be compared with the imperial motif of the manifestation of the Roman emperor before the

[189] E. Kirschbaum, 'Der Prophet Balaam und die Anbetung der Weisen', *RQ* 49 (1954), 129–71.

[190] See above, n. 31.

[191] Augustine, Sermon 199 and Leo, Sermon 32, 1; Dassmann, 'Epiphanie', 18, with translations of the sermons into German; B. Brenk, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1975), 27; Kollwitz and Herdejürgen, *Die Ravennatische Sarkophage*, 139.

people of the eastern provinces, who wear oriental costume and assume a homage-rendering pose. Representations of the kind seen, for instance, on the column of Marcus Aurelius in Rome, undoubtedly served as models for the Christian Epiphany.[192] However, T. F. Mathews' recent book, *The Clash of God*, abandons the imperial direction in favour of an interpretation seeing the Magi's oriental costumes as typical of eastern magicians, and themselves as delegates to the super-magician-Christ.[193] Since I think interpretation should rely also on context, I will discuss Mathews' reading after studying the next scene on the casket's body.

The Three Hebrews in an orant pose stand thigh-deep in a furnace with two semi-circular openings (Fig. 5). Each young man stands between two flames. The three are dressed like the Magi, wearing Phrygian caps and short tunics with long sleeves, belted under the armpits. On the right a fire-tender approaches the furnace to stoke the flames. He wears a short tunic with long sleeves, and high boots(?). In his right hand he holds a stick—a sort of poker. The details of the Brivio scene are somewhat different from the two earlier representations on silver caskets, those of S. Nazaro and Nea Herakleia (Figs. 30 and 11). In the earlier caskets there was no furnace, and in S. Nazaro the supplementary figure was the messenger of God[194] rather than the fire tender. Also, in Brivio the three men face forward. But all three scenes are meant to represent the same event (Daniel 3: 13–18) and carry the same meaning. Even though the fire in Brivio is still being tended by the servant, the three Hebrews in orant pose are shown as already saved from death, as in S. Nazaro and Nea Herakleia, thus performing a salvation picture.[195]

The differences between the representations of the scene on the caskets continue to be seen in other media as well. In fact, the Brivio combination of the three young Hebrews, the flames and the fire tender does not have an exact parallel. In a search for corresponding separate elements of the scene, I found the fire-tender on a number of sarcophagi, except that usually he does not stand upright, holding a stick, but rather half kneels.[196] On a sarcophagus in the Museo Pio Cristiano, dated to the first third of the fourth century, the three young men

[192] Deckers, 'Die Huldigung', 24–5, figs. 5, 6, summarizes the iconography of this motif of eastern people paying homage to the Roman emperor.

[193] Mathews, *The Clash of Gods*, 84–9. This book has drawn much criticism. See e.g. P. C. Finney, 'Do You Think God is a Magician?', in G. Koch (ed.), *Sarkophag-Studien II*, 99–108.

[194] Alborino, *Das Silberkästchen*, 95.

[195] See above the discussion of the scene on the Nea Herakleia casket.

[196] e.g. *Rep. I*, nos. 130; 143; 664; 801. For further examples see M. Rassart and F. Baratte, 'Trois mosaïques d'époque paléochrétienne au Musée du Louvre', *Monument Piot*, 58 (1973), 43–73, esp. 44–58: 'Fragment d'une scene représentant les trois Hébreux dans la fournaise'. See also Rassart-Debergh, 'Les Trois Hébreux' 430–55. Cf. Árnason, 'Early Christian Silver', 216 n. 144.

are standing inside the furnace.[197] On the left the servant is holding a piece of firewood, in a pose similar to Brivio, except that the object is in his outer hand.[198]

In two out of the three representations of the Fiery Furnace scene on the silver caskets, the Adoration of the Magi is depicted opposite or next to them.[199] This juxtaposition is common in funerary art as early as the second quarter of the fourth century. For instance, on a sarcophagus lid in Arles (Fig. 40), the scenes are placed on either side of a central group of two victories carrying a medallion-shaped tabula containing the name of Marcia Romana Celsa.[200] The perception of the Magi and the three Hebrews as oriental figures, and their parallel number (3), may have been the reason for this visual analogy, and perhaps also for the textual analogy made later.[201] In the case of the sarcophagus in Arles, as in the Brivio casket, there are also fourth figures, angel and fire-tender respectively, to balance the Adoration of the Magi, that is, to correspond to the figure of Mary. By using such visual echoes, the artists produced a very balanced and harmonious decoration programme.

Yet concern for symmetry of composition, or as Mathews argues, the fact that both groups of three men are from the Orient, is not enough to explain this repeated juxtaposition. There must be another or additional reason for such an enduring combination. Mathews, relying on a sarcophagus lid in Saint Gilles du Gard,[202] where three men wearing oriental clothing turn their backs on an emperor and an idol and follow a star, while the opposite panel shows the Adoration of the Magi, argues that 'the artist wanted to identify the two famous

[197] *Rep. I*, no. 121.

[198] Another example, in minor art, is a lost (?) casket from Vermand (Buschhausen, cat. no. A66), where the three stand inside a furnace and the fire-tender comes from the right with a stick in his right hand. The schematic furnace is shaped like a box, with the customary three openings, although these may vary from one to five. For variations of furnaces and openings see Irwin, *Liturgical*, 55 ff., giving an example (no. 86) of a furnace with two openings, as on the Brivio, that was in the fresco of the loculus of Grata in the Giordani Catacomb in Rome.

[199] It is possible that in the casket from S. Nazaro the Adoration of the Magi was also on the front, before the direction of the lock was changed. See Alborino, *Das Silberkästchen*, 23.

[200] Musée de l'Arles antique, *Rep. III*, no. 37.

[201] As e.g. in the Commentary on Daniel by Jerome: (8) 'Common usage and ordinary conversation understands the term magi as wicked enchanters. Yet they were regarded differently among their own nation, in as much as they were the philosophers of the Chaldeans . . . Wherefore also it was they who first at the nativity of our lord and savior learned of his birth, and who came to holy Bethlehem and adored the child, under the guidance of the star which shone above them' (G. L. Archer, trans., *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1977), 25; Irwin, *Liturgical*, 185). The common elements of the two episodes may also account for the visual juxtaposition of the Refusal of the Three Hebrews and the Adoration of the Magi. Whether this combination was based on theological views such as the adoration of Christ versus the adoration of the pagan ruler is under debate. See J. Engemann, 'Eine spätantike Messingkanne mit Zwei Darstellungen aus der Magiererzählung in F. J. Dölger-Institut in Bonn', in *Vivarium, Festschrift Theodor Klauser zum 90 Geburtstag*, JbAC Suppl., 11 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1984), 121; id., 'Zur Interpretation', 90; Kulczak-Rudiger and Terbuyken, 'Jünglinge in Feuerofen', 384.

[202] Mathews, *The Clash of Gods*, 80, fig. 58; *Rep. III*, no. 492.

sets of three magicians'. Even if Mathews is correct in reading the first group of three oriental men as the Three Hebrews refusing to worship the Baal at the command of Nebuchadnezzar, rather than the Three Magi in Herod's court,[203] this interpretation does not necessarily hold for other representations of the two trio scenes. Considering the rest of the decoration programme on the casket, the association of the Three Magi as a reference to Christ's Epiphany with the Three Hebrews as an image of promised salvation, carries deeper conviction.

Jerusalem and Bethlehem

The casket's rounded ends present a similar decoration, an architectural motif consisting of a gate and two towers (Fig. 6). On one end the gate is flanked by two palm trees, on the other there is only one tree. This may be because the servant in the Fiery Furnace scene leaves no room for another tree, and perhaps he also causes the city gate at that end to be narrower than the other one. City gates are often placed next to palm trees but they are not usually rendered beside the Adoration of the Magi, the Three Hebrews, or the Raising of Lazarus. The exceptional context and the missing tree might speak for the gates' function here as fillers. Twin city gates or cities with palm trees are known especially from *Traditio legis* scenes, where very often and in various media they either flank the figures of Christ, Peter, and Paul or are located below them. In combinations with the *Traditio legis* there is often an additional element, a procession of lambs emerging from the cities. In this context the two architectural elements are identified as Jerusalem and Bethlehem, the names being in fact inscribed in several instances.[204] In monumental representations from the fifth century on, the cities are usually adorned with gems and other decorative elements.[205] The Brivio casket has no inscriptions or ornamentations, and there is no procession of lambs. Thus the gates and trees might well be no more than fillers.

Nevertheless, such uncomplicated architectural motifs, without ornamentations or inscriptions, exist in monumental as well as minor art, where they must count for more than mere space-fillers. For instance, in the niche mosaic of S. Costanza in Rome the two structures look rather like huts and palm trees

[203] Engemann, 'Eine spätantike Messingkanne', 125–7.

[204] The names are written on a gold glass bottom in the Vatican, Museo Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica (Inv. no. 60771), dated to the second half of the 4th cent./beginning of the 5th (Morey, *The Gold-glass Collection*, cat. no. 78, p. 19, pl. XIII; Donati (ed.), *Pietro e Paolo*, cat. no. 93), and on several monumental mosaics dated to mid-6th cent. (S. Vitale, Ravenna), the end of the 6th cent. (S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura) and later (medieval apse of S. Pietro).

[205] Following the analysis by Wisskirschen and Heid, 'Der Prototyp des Lämmerfrieses', 141, 148, one might assume that only the embellished cities with inscriptions (probably after 430 and certainly after 432–40, the date of the mosaics in Santa Maria Maggiore) should be identified as Jerusalem and Bethlehem. However, the gold glass in the Vatican Library, dated to the end of the 4th cent./beginning of the 5th, suggests otherwise. Wisskirchen and Heid propose, unconvincingly, a later date for the gold glass.

are placed immediately above them, as if growing from the roof.[206] The twin city motif appears five times on the ivory casket from Samagher, on each of the four sides and lid (for instance, Fig. 15). On the Capsella Africana (Fig. 46) architectural elements figure next to palm trees. In these three instances it is easy to identify the cities as Jerusalem and Bethlehem, in spite of the simple and modest representation, since a lamb procession emerges from the gates.[207] But there are monumental architectural depictions without any processions at all, as on the triumphal arch mosaic of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura in Rome (579–590),[208] the triumphal arch in S. Vitale in Ravenna where palm trees are added, the floor mosaic of the church in Tayibat al-Imam in Syria (Fig. 41) and the floor mosaic in Junca.[209] In all these the cities are adorned with gems and their names are inscribed.

Wherever the two cities motif appears, with or without a lamb procession, adorned with gems or not, the context in which it is represented is eschatological. It may be next to the *Traditio legis*, or on either side of a celestial picture of Christ enthroned (S. Lorenzo), or in conjunction with two archangels holding a disc with the letter Alpha as in the S. Vitale apse mosaic where Christ is seated on a globe, holding a scroll with seven seals. The addition of palm trees reinforces the eschatological context, for they symbolize both victory and the heavenly landscape.[210] This could also be the context on the Brivio casket: palm trees beside the city gates, and the position of the whole between an Epiphany and a redemption from death. The two cities mark out an eschatological topography, as if they were confirming the frame of salvation history presented by the rest of the decoration programme: the beginning (the Epiphany in Bethlehem) and the end (the salvation promised by Christ's Resurrection and Return, in Jerusalem).[211] Perhaps these two points of Christ's life are based on the prophecy of Micah 4: 2: 'for the law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem', and Micah 5: 2: 'But thou, Beth-lehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me

[206] See Section A, n. 38.

[207] In S. Costanza the lambs flank Christ, they do not emerge from the two edifices.

[208] Volbach and Hirmer, *Early Christian Art*, fig. 185; C. Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1960, Rep. Stuttgart, 1992), 139.

[209] For Tayibat al-Imam see R. Farioli Campanati, 'Jerusalem and Bethlehem in the Iconography of Church Sanctuary Mosaics', in M. Piccirillo and E. Alliata (eds.), *The Madaba Map Centenary 1897–1997, Traveling Through the Byzantine Umayyad Period*, Proceedings of the International Conference held in Amman, 7–9 April 1997, (Jerusalem: Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 1999), 173–7; For Junca, see B. Domagalski, *Der Hirsch in spätantiker Literatur und Kunst*, JbAC Suppl., 15 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1990), 146. The two mosaics are discussed in Ch. 2 below.

[210] J. Flemming, s.v. 'Palme', *LCI* 3 (1974, repr. 1990), 364–5.

[211] For other interpretations see Schneider, N., s.v. 'Städte, Zwei', *LCI* 4 (1972, repr. 1990), 205–9, with further bibliography. Cf. Farioli Campanati, 'Jerusalem and Bethlehem', 173.

that is to be ruler in Israel; whose goings forth have been from the old, from everlasting.' This would account for the two cities' location on the triumphal arches, and on the rounded corners of the casket.[212]

The two cities with palm trees on the casket are important to our concerns also in view of Mathews' theory of Christ as the Super-Magician. It is perhaps tempting to make an alternative reading, influenced by Mathews, of the Brivio casket: this would see Christ as a supreme magician holding a wand and bringing Lazarus back to life, and the two trios of Hebrews and Magi wearing eastern costume as magicians. However, the city gates and palm trees take us in an entirely different direction. They argue in favour of an eschatological reading.

To sum up, the decoration of the Brivio casket consists of biblical scenes commonly used in funerary representations from the very early stages of Christian art: the Raising of Lazarus, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace. The appearances of Lazarus and the three young Hebrews on funerary monuments indicated the wish of the deceased for salvation and redemption, while the Adoration was understood as an Epiphany image. There are, however, two important differences between these scenes on catacomb paintings or sarcophagi reliefs, and their representation on the Brivio casket. First, the artist of the casket inserted new details into Lazarus' resurrection, not by changing the main characters, but by altering their location within the composition and emphasizing the role of Lazarus' sister. Second, while continuing the traditional funerary juxtaposition of the three Magi and the three young Hebrews, the artist inserted a relatively new motif at the rounded ends of the casket, separating the Epiphany from the Salvation, or, rather, providing both with an eschatological background. This was not strictly necessary for his programme: the Raising of Lazarus with an emphasis on the female figure—whether begging for Lazarus' life (Mary of Bethany), foreseeing Christ's return (Martha), or testifying to Christ's Resurrection (Mary Magdalen)—together with the Epiphany and the Redemption from death, are all references to Christ's Second Coming. By adding the well-known contemporary Roman motif of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, the artist was working according to the latest conventions, and leaving hardly any doubt of his intention to allude to the Parousia.

The North Italian–Gaul Context

The double motif of city gates with palm trees incidentally offers a terminus post quem for the casket decoration programme. First known in representative *Traditio legis* compositions,[213] the earliest extant work being from mid-fourth-century

[212] As also in the Capsella Africana, see below, Ch. 2.

[213] For the evolution of the *Traditio legis* scene see Section A above.

Rome, we can assume the second half of the fourth century as the earliest possible date. The style of Brivio differs from that of the S. Nazaro and Nea Herakleia caskets, made presumably in Milan and Rome respectively around 380. We thus have a minor object dated by its iconography to a time when most works present Theodosian elements, but itself lacking them. However, the style of the casket has parallels with the art of North Italy–Gaul. Before comparing the Brivio casket to two specific works, one minor, the other monumental, I will attempt to define its stylistic characteristics.

In comparing the composition and figure style of the lid and the body of the casket, similarities and dissimilarities appear. Whereas on the body the compositions are more frieze-like, the components on the lid are less interconnected. Each element has its own space, making the decoration seem more monumental; however, the aedicule of Lazarus, Christ's halo, and the palm tree meet the oval frame, thus diminishing the impression of monumentality. This aspect recurs in the decoration of the body, where the figures and objects touch the leaf pattern above and below at some points. Still, the decoration of the body has a more miniature-like character, an impression further shaped by the relation between the wide leaf pattern and the narrow strip left open for the scenes. In addition, the elements are greater in number and are rendered more closely to each other, constituting a rather crowded picture.

In both parts of the casket the figure relief is shallow and does not project much from the background. The figures on the lid are bigger, but their proportions are the same as those of the figures on the body. This is easy to illustrate by comparing the shrouded Lazarus with Mary, or with the Christ child. Also, all the figures are gilded and have the same kind of thin contour line circling the body as if it were a unit. The physiognomy of the personages is also common to both parts. Mary's profile with sharp triangular nose, large eye, smiling mouth and low forehead resembles that of Lazarus' sister. In comparing the two women it is plain to see that the same artist decorated both parts of the casket. This impression is enhanced when we look at his treatment of some details of the figures in profile. For instance, the sister's shoulder, elbow, and arm have a problematic articulation. The elbow is defined by a right angle, the arm is too long and the wrist supposed to connect it with the hand is almost missing. Also, it is hard to tell where exactly the shoulder is placed. Something similar occurs in the way the Christ child sits on his mother's lap. Mary raises her left knee, defined by a right angle that would not be seen if Christ were perched on it. The size of Mary's left leg does not agree with her right. It is too small, as if belonging to a child. The Brivio artist might have had a model where both legs of the child were visible.[214] Here, however, they are articulated so as to merge with Mary's body.

[214] As e.g. in the ivory panel in Milan, n. 142 above.

The body and clothing of Lazarus' sister are depicted by a minimal number of lines. More weight and attention are given to the design of Christ. The illusion of volume here is more convincing than in any other figure of the decoration. This impression is due to the relation between the clothes and the body, as in the wide folds of the thick pallium enveloping the right leg and hand.

The so-called reliquary of SS. Jullita and Quiricus in Ravenna, whose decoration programme is comparable to Brivio's, is also relevant when it comes to the Brivio relief style. Certain stylistic elements are common to both: each side presents one image; a relatively broad border pattern surrounds every composition and the elements rise from the lower frame, almost reaching the upper one. The impression made by the decoration-frame relation is of scenes in a miniature. The front of the marble casket carries the more representative composition. In comparing the Adorations of the Magi, more shared details appear. The impetuous stride of the Magi and the illusion of motion are the same. Also, the consistent distance between the figures, the Christ child being seated almost half way between the first Magus and Mary. Although the proportions of the figures on the marble reliquary, especially of the heads and hands, are close to Brivio, the folds of the clothing are somewhat different, the marble ones being sharper and less voluminous. The provenance of the Ravenna reliquary is most likely North Italy, but since this is a portable object, it does not provide sufficient support for any conclusions concerning the Brivio casket; our next comparison will be with a more monumental medium.

The front of the early fifth-century column sarcophagus from the crypt of S. Victor in Marseille, known as the sarcophagus of S. Cassien, is divided into five fields by pilasters (Fig. 42).[215] Each field contains one figure except for the one on the left, which represents a family of parents and a child. The mother stands in full profile, turning towards the central field. The father is similarly posed, his hands veiled and in acclamation. The child is on and behind his father's arms. The child, who is the deceased, is represented again in orant pose in the central field. The flanking fields contain figures of apostles (?), all turning towards the child at the centre.

At first glance, the column sarcophagus where pilasters divide the composition and all of whose figures are oriented towards the central personage, does not have much in common with the silver casket apart from the shallow relief work and the way in which the figures are attached to the background, with only a thin outline to separate them from it. However, each figure within its field has the same relation to the frame as on the casket. The pilasters and the upper and lower frame of the panel are relatively thick. The figures touch the pilasters and fill the

[215] *Rep. III*, no. 296.

space between the upper and lower frame, but are not squeezed into it. In the family panel there is enough room for each figure, the background remaining empty. The rather stately figures do not resemble the small lively Magi or the three Hebrews on the casket body, but recall the more monumental figures on the lid. If we compare the apostles to Christ on the lid, or even the mother in the left field to the woman on the lid, the similarity is striking: the proportions are the same, the head and hands are large, the shoulders wide, the body full. The frozen pose of the apostles recalls that of Christ on the lid. The weight of the body is on the left leg, while the right leg bends a little. The right leg has more volume and is seen through the thick garments. The tunics and pallia are made of soft heavy cloth, revealing only part of the leg muscles. Not many folds are indicated, and in both works they occur in exactly the same places. Moreover, there is a thick diagonal line edging the pallia of the monumental figures. Something similar is seen in Christ's pallium but also in the line marking the hem of Mary's dress on the casket body. The similarity appears also in the design of the sleeves. The thick material falls away from the hands, leaving a relatively large gap between the arm and the sleeve. This is seen in Christ's right hand holding the wand, and also in the two apostle figures to the child's left on the sarcophagus. The relations between the tunic and pallium and between the garments and the body are very much the same in both works.

The facial details are also related. Those of the female figure on the sarcophagus resemble Mary. It is interesting to note that the position of the child, supposedly carried in his father's arms, is not very clear. It is difficult to discern the father's hands in relation to the child. Perhaps this was due to the artist's wanting to emphasize the covered hands. At all events, it recalls the seated child in the Adoration scene on the casket.

The marble casket in Ravenna and the sarcophagus in Marseille, together with the casket from Brivio, suggest a stylistic taste unfamiliar to Rome, perhaps more common in local workshops in North Italy and Gaul at the beginning of the fifth century. Taking the iconographical components of the decoration programme into account, the possible conflation of scenes and their layout, this geographical area and date seem reasonable. The Capsella Brivio transfers us from the major artistic centres of Rome and Milan to smaller ones in the periphery, bringing with it some of the old traditions combined with new inventions of its time.

The decoration programmes of the casket from Nea Herakleia, the casket from S. Nazaro, and the Capsella Brivio, all employ a traditional choice of biblical scenes, but each has an additional contemporary invention. The casket from Nea Herakleia places the relatively new *Traditio legis* composition at the heart of the programme; in the casket from S. Nazaro the biblical scenes are set in representative central compositions and a *Maiestas domini* is found on the lid; and the

Capsella Brivio arranges the biblical stories in a new layout combined with the relatively new motif of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. The three programmes are designed to deliver an eschatological message on at least one level of interpretation. In their differences and in their common goals, the earliest silver caskets decorated with biblical scenes, discussed and compared here, provide a fairly comprehensive argument for the beginnings of reliquary production, which enables us to judge other containers decorated with biblical scenes made of different materials such as the marble casket in the Archepiscopal Chapel in Ravenna.

TWO

Caskets Decorated with Images of the Martyrs

The earliest caskets, as we have seen, did not include representations of martyrs in their decoration programmes but rather a repertoire of biblical scenes, the one possible exception being Peter and Paul in the *Traditio legis*. The role of these two saints in early representations, as on the casket from Nea Herakleia, may reflect their local Roman eminence. But on the so-called Capsella Africana a martyr's figure is at the focal point of the decoration, leaving hardly any doubt as to the reliquary function. The Africana is the focus of the first section of this chapter, but it would be misleading to launch the discussion without mentioning another silver casket possibly decorated with martyr figures, dated earlier than the Africana, the silver casket from Pula today in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.[1]

The silver hexagonal casket in Vienna, dated to the end of the fourth/beginning of the fifth century, was found near the cistern under the floor of the cathedral in Pula (Pola), Istria, on the shores of the Adriatic Sea (Fig. 43). It is composed of a lid decorated with six busts, one on each field, and a body with corresponding full figures. This scheme, representing each personage twice over, unique among silver caskets, raises a query about the original function of the casket.[2] Christ is at the centre, holding an open book and flanked by Peter and Paul; while the three

[1] H. Swoboda, 'Frühchristliche Reliquiarien des K. K. Münz- und Antiken- Cabinetes', *Mitt. der K. K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der kunst- und historischen Denkmale* new ser., 16 (1890), 1–22; H. Buschhausen, *Die spätrömischen Metallscrinia und frühchristlichen Reliquiare*, vol. 1: Catalogue, Wiener byzantinische Studien, 11 (Vienna: Böhlau, 1971), cat. no. B 20; id., 'Pyxis with Christ and Apostles and Casket with Crosses and Palmettes', in K. Weitzmann, (ed.), *Age of Spirituality, Late Antique and Early Christian Art. Third to Seventh Century*, *Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Nov. 19, 1977 through Feb. 12, 1978* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979), cat. no. 568; N. Cambi, in B. Brenk (ed.), *Spätantike und frühes Christentum*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte Suppl., 1 (Frankfurt a. Main: Propyläen, 1977), cat. no. 382b; R. Warland, *Das Brustbild Christi, Studien zur spätantiken und frühbyzantinischen Bildgeschichte*, RQ Suppl., 41 (Rome: Herder, 1986), cat. no. D9; L. Crusvar, 'Capsella cilindrica per reliquie', in S. Tavano and G. Bergamini (eds.), *Patriarchi; Quindici secoli di civilta' fra l'Adriatico e l'Europa centrale* (Milan: Skira, 2000), 105, cat. no. VII.3; R. E. Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society in Late Antiquity: Function and Meanings of Silver Plate in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 98–101, fig. 2.22.

[2] See below Ch. 3 §A.

remaining figures were identified by Heinrich Swoboda as Hermagoras, Mark, and Fortunatus—all connected to and active in the Aquileia-Istria region.[3] However, in the absence of specific attributes or physiognomies the interpretation of these figures as martyrs and their precise identification remain within the limits of hypothesis.[4] On the other hand, the interpretation of the figure on the lid of the Capsella Africana as a martyr is most probably definitive.

A. THE SO-CALLED CAPSELLA AFRICANA

Lying in a wooden box fixed in a stone block, the silver casket known as Capsella Africana was uncovered in 1884 in the northern corner of the ruins of an early Christian church dated to the sixth century, at Aïn Zirara in Numidia (Algeria), and shortly afterwards presented to Pope Leone XIII by Cardinal Lavigerie, then archbishop of Carthage.[5] Ever since, it has been kept in the Museo Sacro collection at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.[6] The silver casket is oval and consists of two parts, body and lid (Fig. 7). When closed it is 11 cm high, 18.5 cm wide, and 7.5 cm deep. The lid fits tightly over the body, making a lock unnecessary. Both parts are ornamented with an embossed and engraved decoration.[7]

In the centre of the lid a young male figure is shown standing at the source of the four rivers of paradise (Fig. 44). He is flanked by two monumental candlesticks with lighted candles and crowned by the hand of God reaching down from above; his hands hold a second crown. These crowns designate the personage as a martyr. A leaf pattern runs around the lid. The body carries a frieze-like decoration. On one side, the Lamb of God, with a cross over its back, stands at the

[3] Swoboda, 'Frühchristliche Reliquiarien', 14–17.

[4] The figures are often taken to be Christ with apostles, based mainly on comparison with an octagonal casket from Novalja (see Catalogue no. 3), where there are eight figures, among them Christ, Peter, and Paul, forming a *Traditio legis* scene. See e.g. Buschhausen, in Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 568 and Cambi, in Brenk (ed.), *Spätantike*, cat. no. 382b.

[5] For the involvement of Cardinal Lavigerie (1825–92) in archaeological exploration in North Africa see W. C. H. Frend, *The Archaeology of Ancient Christianity: A History* (London: G. Chapman, 1996), 67–73.

[6] Inv. no. 60859; G. B. de Rossi, 'La capsella argentea Africana', *Nuovo Bulletino di Archeologia*, 5 (1887), 118–29, pls. VIII, IX, followed by a monograph, *Capsella reliquiaria Africana; omaggio della Biblioteca Vaticana a Leone XIII* (Rome: Cugiani, 1889); Buschhausen, cat. no. B15, with bibliography; Recent publications of the casket include R. L. Milburn, *Early Christian Art and Architecture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 259, fig. 168; U. Utro, 'Capsella africana', in A. Donati (ed.), *Dalla terra alle genti: la diffusione del cristianesimo nei primi secoli*, Exhibition Catalogue (Milano: Electa, 1996), 253–4; A. Effenberger, 'Ovale Pyxis, sog. Capsella Africana', in C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff (eds.), *799; Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III. In Paderborn; Katalog der Ausstellung Paderborn 1999* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1999), 2. 646–7; Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society*, 105, fig. 2.28.

[7] Buschhausen, 243, writes that the casket is partly gilded. I did not see any gold when I was studying the work. The bottom of the casket is completely new. There is a small crack on the right side of the face of the figure on the lid and another one next to the crown he is holding.

centre of a procession of lambs, eight in all, pacing from either end towards the Agnus Dei (Fig. 45). The lambs emerge from two basilica-like structures placed next to palm trees at the curved ends of the body (Fig. 46). On the opposite side the centre is marked by a Christogram resting on a hillock from which flow the four rivers of paradise (Fig. 7). The Christogram is flanked by a deer and a doe, both drinking from the waters. The body is decorated with the same running leaf-pattern as the lid.

The casket has been assigned various dates, ranging from the early fifth to the sixth century.[8] Since it was found in a church and a martyr is represented on the lid, its function as a reliquary has never been questioned. However, there is some argument as to where it was intended to be placed, in a martyr's grave or at an altar (Altarsepulkrum).[9] The place of origin is more or less agreed. Most scholars, following De Rossi,[10] attribute the casket to North Africa, based mainly on the location and the visual motifs, especially the figure between candlesticks, which, as will be shown below, frequently occurs on tomb mosaics from Proconsular Africa.[11]

Nonetheless, I would like to reopen the issue of origin by inquiring also into works of art outside North Africa. On the basis of motifs, layout, and stylistic comparisons, I shall argue that the so-called Africana casket could have been

[8] Early 5th cent. (De Rossi, *Capsella reliquiaria Africana*, 25–6; F. Baratte, 'La vaisselle d'argent dans l'Afrique romaine et byzantine', *AnTard* 5 (1997), 127–8, 425–50; H. H. Árnason, 'Early Christian Silver of North Italy and Gaul', *AB* 20/2 (1938), 219). 5th–6th cents. (Utro, 'Capsella africana', 253–4; Effenberger, 'Ovale Pyxis', 646).

[9] De Rossi, *Capsella reliquiaria Africana*, 29, thought that it was an altar reliquary, of the kind known in Africa as *memoria*. J. P. Kirsch, 'Altchristliches silbernes Reliquiar aus Africa', *RQ* 1 (1887), 389, thought it to have been in the *mensa* of an altar, and to have been buried later to protect it from marauders. J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 1: *Arten, Bestanden, Altargrab, Weihe, Symbolik* (Munich: Alte Meister Guenther Koch, 1924), 639, on the other hand, observed that the place where it was found, in a wooden box in the north corner of the basilica, suggests that it was not an altar but a grave reliquary. Effenberger, 'Ovale Pyxis', adds that the grave reliquary offered direct contact (*brandeum*) with the remains of the saint. The *brandeum* was a contact reliquary, which means that the venerator could bring a textile fragment or some other kind of solid material and place it in physical contact with the relic by letting it down the *fenestella confessionis* or laying it on the grave. For more information on the types of deposition of relics see B. Kötting, *Der frühchristliche Reliquienkult und die Bestattung im Kirchengebäude*, Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 123 (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1965); J. H. Emminghaus, s.v. 'Brandeum', *LexMA* 2 (1983), 563–4; A. Angenendt, *Heilige und Reliquien: Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Beck, 1994), 167–76.

[10] De Rossi, *Capsella reliquiaria Africana*, 21–2.

[11] Only Árnason, 'Early Christian Silver', 220, found connections between North Italy—Gaul and the Capsella Africana, although he recognized a North African language of symbols in the decoration programme. He was content with concluding: 'Whether the Capsella was actually made in the north according to North African specifications, or whether it was made in North Africa by a Gallic workman cannot be proved. But it is evident that the style, technique, and iconography have their roots in the Italo-Gallic region.'

made in Campania. Expanding the repertoire of comparisons may increase the possibilities of deciphering the decoration as well; it seems to me that the two prominently placed candlesticks are the key to the full meaning of the programme. Furthermore, a specific identification of the martyr on the lid as Januarius, the local martyr of Naples and Benevento, will be suggested, with all due caution.[12]

The Martyr in the Guise of Christ Flanked by Candlesticks

When we think of representations of martyrs such as those walking in procession in the nave of S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, or those flanking Christ in titular churches, the martyr on the lid of the Capsella Africana seems very unusual: the martyr's crown appears twice, and the martyr is standing on a hill with the four rivers of paradise flowing from it, a pose usually reserved for Christ or his allegory as Agnus Dei.[13] The same applies also to the hand of God crowning the martyr. This consecration motif is generally assigned to Christ or one of his symbols. As will be shown below, these combinations could be the result of a visual trend popular in Italy during the first half of the fifth century, in which martyrs, carrying Christ's power within them, were modelled after Christ, as if to convey the urge of the worshippers to find a meeting of heaven and earth.[14]

The four rivers appear in early Christian art in different contexts. However, when they are not personified by human figures they are found mostly in specific combinations of eschatological characters and scenes.[15] For instance, they may occur below Christ in *Traditio legis* scenes, as in the niche mosaic of S. Costanza, or combined with the *Agnus dei* as in the apsis-tituli of Fundi and Nola (Figs. 47 and 48).[16] In the unusual fifth-century *Maiestas domini* in the apse mosaic of Hosios David, Thessaloniki, the four rivers are depicted below the mandorla of Christ, where they integrate into the river Jordan flowing along the apse line. A half-figure of a river god, known in representations of the Baptism of Christ,

[12] An earlier version of the following discussion appears as 'Capsella Africana: Made in Campania,' *Boreas*, 26 (2004), 83–98.

[13] The only other instance I know of is on an ivory plaque dated to *c.*500, probably from Ravenna, with a depiction of Peter holding a monumental cross placed on the four rivers, also an unusual combination; Bryn Athyn, Pa., Glencairn Foundation, see N. Patterson Ševčenko, 'Plaque with St. Peter', in Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Sprituality*, cat. no. 485; and recently, A. Cutler, 'The Propriety of Peter. On the Nature and Authenticity of the Bryn Athyn Apostle Plaque', in J. Herrin, M. Mullett, and C. Otten-Froux (eds.), *Mosaic. Festschrift for A. H. S. Megaw*, British School at Athens Studies, 8 (London: British School at Athens, 2001), 27–32.

[14] This urge is described and elaborated by Peter Brown in his 'Arbiters of Ambiguity: A Role of the Late Antique Holy Man', *Cassiodorus*, 2 (1996), 140.

[15] E. Dinkler von Schubert, s.v. 'Fluss II (ikonographisch)', *RAC* 8 (1972), 93–5. See also the study by A. Février, 'Les quatres fleuves du paradis', *RivAC* 32 (1956), 179–99.

[16] For S. Costanza see Ch. 1 n. 38; For Nola and Fundi see Ch. 3 and J. Engemann, 'Zu den Apsis-Tituli des Paulinus von Nola', *JbAC* 17 (1974), 21–46.

appears in the scene.[17] The four rivers are thus assimilated with the Baptism through the river Jordan, and with the eschatological life-giving river from Revelation (22: 1–2).[18] The martyr who stands on the four rivers is promised life as in the Gospel of John (11: 25): 'He who believes in me, though he dies, lives.' By juxtaposing the rivers and the martyr, the Africana artist endowed the martyr with two significant qualities. He is placed in an eschatological context, and a visual parallel is made between him and Christ.[19] The latter aspect is stressed further by the hand of God crowning the martyr. Both qualities are again accentuated in a picture painted in Rome during the pontificat of Symmachus (498–514).

A monumental parallel to our martyr on the lid is traceable in the wall painting decorating the skylight niche of the crypt of S. Cecilia in the catacomb of Callistus

[17] Dinkler von Schubert, 'Fluss II (ikonographisch)', 94; C. Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1960), 183; R. Wisskirchen, 'Zum Apsismosaik der Kirche Hosios Davis / Thessalonike', in *Stimuli, Festschrift für E. Dassmann*, JbAC Suppl., 23 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1996), 587–8; W. F. Volbach and M. Hirmer, *Early Christian Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1961), fig. 134.

[18] Gregory of Nyssa, *Baptism* (*PG* 46. 420 ff), and Cyril of Jerusalem, *Baptism Catecheses* 5 (*PG* 33. 434). See Dinkler von Schubert, ibid. 93–4; Ihm, ibid. Another interesting example is the appearance of the four rivers in the scene of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Matt. 25: 1–12) in the *Codex Purpureus* in Rossano, fol. 2v (G. Cavallo, J. Gribomont, and W. C. Loerke (eds.), *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis, Museo dell'Arcivescovado, Rossano Calabro. Commentarium*, Codices selecti phototypice impressi Facsimile, 81 (Rome: Salerno, 1987); P. Sevrugian, *Der Rossano-Codex und die Sinope-Fragmente. Miniaturen und Theologie* (Worms: Werner, 1990), figs. 8, 9). Christ is depicted with the Wise Virgins to the right of a door which acts as a barrier between them and the Foolish Virgins on the other side (Matthew 25: 1–12). Again, the four rivers integrate into one river, flowing under the wise group. This illustration shows how the place next to Christ is reserved for the righteous and how the rivers of paradise (Gen. 2: 10–14) are combined with the life-giving river described in the Apocalypse. They are assimilated with the river that flows under the heavenly chair. Février, 'Les quatres fleuves', 179–80, thinks that in the Rossano miniature the rivers indicate paradise, as on the Adam ivory in the Museo Bargello (W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1976), no. 108). However, Matthew 25 deals with the end of time, and the Rossano illustration clearly combines the rivers of paradise with the life-giving river of the Apocalypse. In addition, because of their meaning as life-giving water, the four rivers of paradise entered daily life during the 4th–5th cent., in a very broad and general social context. For instance, an inscription dated to the end of the 4th cent., found in Ostia in front of a nympheum, reads: *In christo. Geon, Fison, Tigris, Eufrata. | ti cri[st]ianorum sumite fontes* (Carlo Pavolini, *Ostia, Guide archeologiche Laterza* (Rome: Laterza, 1988), 143; Th. See also Klauser, 'Die Inschrift der neugefundenen altchristlichen Bauanlage in Ostia', *RQ* 47 (1939), 25–30).

[19] Indeed, A. Grabar, *Martyrium; Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*, 2 vols. (Paris: Collège de France, 1946; Variorum repr. 1972), 56–7, thought that the figure standing on the four rivers must be Christ, and since he is holding a crown, he would be Christ the martyr, an assimilation of the two ideas, quoting Cyprian of Carthage (Epistula 10): *Dominus . . . ipse in certamine agonis nostri et coronat et coronatur*. Grabar's identification was welcomed by K. Wessel, s.v. 'Hands Gottes', *RBK* 2 (1971), 960; and also C. Walter, 'The Iconographical Sources for the Coronation of Milutin and Simonida at Gracanica', in *L'art byzantin au début du XIVe siècle* (Belgrade: Univerzitet u Beogradu. Filozofski fakultet. Odeljenje za istoriju umetnosti, 1978; repr. in id., *Prayer and Power in Byzantine and Papal Imagery* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993), 183–200; V. Elbern, 'Ein langobardisches Altarreliquiar in Trient', in *Festschrift Hermann Fillitz*, Achener Kunstblätter, 60 (1994), 49, identifies the figure as Christ.

in Rome.[20] In the uppermost zone of the niche S. Cecilia is crowned by the hand of God as she stands between two monumental candlesticks (Fig. 49). She is accompanied by additional saints, but, more to our purpose, S. Cecilia is positioned above a cross flanked by two lambs. The side walls of the niche indicate that the two lambs actually head a procession of lambs coming out of two cities, similar to that on the casket's body. Crowning by the hand of God was first established in relation to the Christian emperor, and subsequently adopted to Christ, then to the martyrs and Mary.[21] A similar process also affected the cross nimbus at that period. For instance, in the bust medallions of Peter and Paul decorating a fifth-century silver and gold flask in the Museo Sacro, each saint has a cross nimbus around his head (Fig. 50).[22] Another example on a portable object is a fragment of the gold glass bottom of a bowl with a depiction of St Lawrence.[23]

[20] The wall paintings in the skylight niche of the crypt were restored in the early 1990s. See F. Bisconti, 'Il Lucernario di S. Cecilia. Recenti restauri e nuove acquisizioni nella cripta callistiana di S. Cecilia', *RivAC* 73 (1997), 3–7–339.

[21] Constantine I is the key figure through whom this iconography was adopted. In a gold multiplum from Vienna he is seen standing in the centre, crowned by the hand of God, while two of his sons, erect beside him, are being crowned by Victoria and Virtus. See M. R. Alföldi, *Die constantinische Goldprägung. Untersuchnung zu ihrer Bedeutung für Kaiserpolitik und Hofkunst* (Mainz: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz, 1963), no. 148, fig. 214; S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*, The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 189–90, pl. 45; J. Engemann, *Deutung und Bedeutung frühchristlicher Bildwerke* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1997), 79, fig. 69. As for crowning the symbols representing Christ, see e.g. the apse of the basilica in Fundi, where the cross is crowned by the hand of God (Fig. 47). For Mary crowned by the hand of God see e.g. the apse mosaic in the Basilica Eufrasiana in Poreč. In Rome, the first monumental martyr to be crowned in the same way is probably S. Cecilia, followed by S. Agnese in her titulus church on via Nomentana (629–39). See J. Deckers, 'Constantin und Christus. Das Bildprogramm in Kaiserkulträumen und Kirchen', in H. Beck and P. C. Bol (eds.), *Spätantike und frühes Christentum, Ausstellung im Liebieghaus Museum alter Plastik Frankfurt a. Main, 16.12.1983–11.3.1984* (Frankfurt a. Main: Liebieghaus, 1983), 267–83, fig. 114, and recently, F. Betti, 'La pittura a Roma dal IV al IX secolo', in M. S. Arena et al. (eds)., *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo, Archeologia e storia nel Museo Nazionale Romano Crypta Balbi* (Milan: Electa, 2001), 122–31, fig. 89. Interestingly enough, two crowns bestowed on one martyr are recorded in Prudentius' poem on the martyrdom of S. Agnes where ahe is said to have been given a crown of light and a crown of fruit: *Cingit coronis interea dues | frontem duabus martyris innubae; | unam decemplex edita sexies | merces perenni lumine conficit, | centenus extat fructus in altera* (*Pe*. 14.119–23). See J. Ross, 'Dynamic Writings and Martyrs' Bodies in Prudentius Peristephanon', *JECS* 3 (1995), 343.

[22] Inv. no. 60862; H. von Heinze, 'Concordia Apostolorum, Eine Bleitessera mit Paulus und Petrus', in C. Andresen and G. Klein (eds.), *Theologia Crucis—Signum Crucis. Festschrift für E. Dinkler zum 70. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1979), 223; U. Utro, 'Burette en argent', in G. Morello (ed.), *Pierre et Rome: vingt siècles d'élan créateur, Paris, Hoţel de ville, salle Saint-Jean, 10 juillet-9 novembre 1997* (Milan: Mondadori, 1997), cat. no. 30; S. Gianmaria, 'Ampolla con le immagini di Pietro e Paolo', in M. D'Onofrio (ed.), *Romei e Jubilei il pellegrinaggio medievalea San Pietro (350–1350), Roma, Palazzo Venezia 29 ottobre 1999—26 febbraio 2000* (Milan: Electa, 1999), cat. no. 241; D. Goffredo, 'Ampolla argentea con l'immagine di Pietro e Paolo', in A. Donati (ed.), *Pietro e Paolo; la storia, il culto, la memoria nei primi secoli* (Milan: Electa, 2000), cat. no. 67.

[23] New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1918, 18.145.3; Ch. R. Morey, *The Gold-glass Collection of the Vatican Library* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1959), cat. no. 460; Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 511.

The saint carries a large cross-staff over his right shoulder. Behind his head are the arms of a Christogram. To the right of his left shoulder an Omega is visible, presumably complemented by an Alpha on the other side. It seems that the Christogram halo was adopted for martyrs soon after it was marked out for Christ, also on the model of the imperial representations.[24] The most famous example is the silver plate of Valentinian.[25] The earliest depictions of Christ with such a nimbus are seen soon afterwards in Milan (S. Aquilino),[26] Rome (the wooden doors of S. Sabina)[27] and Ravenna (sarcophagus of Pignatta).[28] The wide distribution of the motif may explain the tendency to add a Christogram halo to martyrs, the first monumental example being seen in Campania.

The representation of Januarius (Gennaro) in the Catacomb of S. Gennaro in Capodimonte is very distinctive (Figs. 51–2).[29] Januarius, the venerated martyr saint of Naples and Benevento, stands in an orant pose, youthful and beardless, wearing a tunic and pallium, sandals on his feet, in the middle of the composition, flanked by two monumental candlesticks with lighted candles and by the figures of the deceased Cominia and Nicatolia on his left and right respectively. More important to the present discussion, Januarius has a nimbus with the Christogram and an Alpha and Omega. Without the inscription over his head which reads *SANCTO MARTYRI IANVARIO* he might be taken for Christ. We shall return to the Januarius depiction in discussing the two candles motif, but here let us look at another example from S. Gennaro which is also relevant in this context: a mid-fifth-century mosaic in the arcosolium of the bishops' crypt in S. Gennaro includes the portrait of an African bishop, usually identified as Quodvultdeus (Fig. 53).[30] His bust is enclosed in a medallion. With both hands he holds a book, adorned with a gemmed cross and the four Beasts of the Apocalypse, bringing to mind depictions of the Pantokrator.[31] Moreover, above the bishop's head, at the

[24] E. Weigand, 'Zum Denkmälerkreis des Christogrammnimbus', *BZ* 32 (1932), 63–81; See also A. Alföldi, 'The Helmet of Constantine with the Christian Monogram', *JRS* 22 (1932), 9–23.

[25] Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Inv. C. 1241. The emperor, probably Valentinian the Second (375–92), is represented as a victorious soldier in the midst of his military entourage, his head circled by a Christogram halo. Most recently with extensive bibliography: A. Arbeiter, 'Der Kaiser mit dem Christogrammnimbus zur silbernen Largitionsschale Valentinians in Genf', *AnTard* 5 (1997), 153–67.

[26] Ibid., figs. 14, 15.

[27] G. Jeremias, *Die Holztür der Basilika S. Sabina in Rom* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1980), pl. 9.

[28] J. Kollwitz, and H. Herdejürgen, *Die Ravennatischen Sarkophage*, Die Sarkophage der westlichen Gebiete des Imperium Romanum, 2 (Berlin: Mann, 1979), cat. no. B1 (Pignatta). See also B4 (*Rep. II*, 379).

[29] H. Achelis, *Die Katakomben von Neaple* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1936), pl. 38; U. M. Fasola, *Le Catacombe di S. Gennaro a Capodimonte* (Rome: Editalia, 1975), fig. 70, pl. VII.

[30] In *c*.439 Bishop Quodvultdeus took refuge in Naples from Gaiseric, the Arianic king of Carthage, and died there in *c*.453. See H. Brandenburg, s.v. 'Arkosolmosaic. Neapel. Katakomb S. Gennaro, Bischofskrypta', in Brenk (ed.), *Spätantike*, cat. no. 25, pl. 25.

[31] For the cover of the book in the bishop's hands see L. Nees, 'A Fifth-Century Book Cover and the Origin of the Four Evangelist Symbols Page in the Book of Durrow', *Gesta*, 17 (1978), 3–8.

top of the arcosolium, there is a golden cross with Alpha and Omega. As on the casket lid, the main figure is not Christ but a follower or a representative on earth, while Christ himself appears in the overall plan through his symbols, the Christogram and the lamb on the body of the casket or the golden cross with Alpha and Omega in the arcosolium. Christ's secondary place can be explained by the function of the work of art. The portrait of the bishop represents the occupant of the grave in the crypt while the martyr on the casket may represent the relics of the martyr laid within it.

After the figure of the martyr in the guise of Christ, the most dominant feature of the decoration programme is the pair of candlesticks on the lid.[32] To decipher the precise meaning of this motif, we shall need to see where and in what contexts it is found. I propose to show that in addition to their cultic association, the pair of candlesticks may signify the cycle of time and a transference from one realm to another.[33] As noted above, the pair of candles has been the main argument for the North African provenance of the casket. However, it occurs quite commonly on the other side of the Mediterranean as well.

The pair of candlesticks motif appears in both secular and liturgical art, but it is known mostly in a funerary context, especially through a group of North African tomb mosaics dated between the late fourth and the sixth centuries.[34] There, the motif is sometimes the only decoration, apart from the figure of the deceased; it is usually part of a heavenly landscape,[35] together with flowers and birds. In most cases the candlesticks have no cups. Occasionally they look more like torches than candles, often not standing in line with the figure of the deceased but rather squeezed between the figure and the frame together with the rest of the decoration, as for example on the familiar sarcophagus of Dardanius, now in the Bardo museum, found in the enclosure of the Thabarca urban cemetery (Fig. 54).[36] The

[32] The entry 'Fackel (Kerze)' by J. Gagé in *RAC* 7 (1966–7), 154–217, gives a comprehensive summary of the appearance of the candlesticks motif in textual sources and in art.

[33] Cf. T. Michaeli, 'Funerary Lights in Painted Tombs in Israel: From Paganism to Christianity', in C. Guiral (ed.), *Circulacion de temas y sistemas decorativós en la pintura mural antigua. IX Congreso internacional de la 'Association Internationale pour la Peinture Mural Antique, Calatayud-Zaragoza September 21–25, 2004* (Calatayud-Zaragoza : forthcoming), who concludes: 'The choice to depict two lights, moreover, suggests a very appropriate subject in funerary art, as expressed in ancient literature: namely, representation of the entire life cycle—from birth to death.'

[34] Ibid., 196; N. Duval, *La Mosaïque funéraire dans l'art paléochrétien*, Antichità, archeologia, storia dell'arte (Ravenna:Longo, 1976), 62; id., 'Les mosaïques funéraires de l'Enfinda et la chronologie des mosaïques funéraires de Tunisie', *RACrist* 50 (1974), 145–74; F. Baratte, and N. Duval, *Catalogue des mosaïques romaines et paléochrétiennes du Musée du Louvre* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1978); M. A. Alexander, 'Mosaic Ateliers at Tabarka', *DOP* 41 (1987), 1–11; J. Christern in Brenk (ed.), *Spätantike*, cat. no. 314.

[35] Duval, *La Mosaïque funéraire*, 48–9; Gagé, 'Fackel (Kerze)', 197.

[36] Alexander, 'Mosaic Ateliers at Tabarka', 9–10; fig. 7.

sarcophagus is covered in mosaic work; a single orant figure, encircled by candles and flowers, dominates the main panel. One candle is in line with the hem of the figure's garment, the other is placed a little higher. Above the figure's head is a cross monogram flanked by an inscription. The side panels display geometric patterns, a kantharos with flower garlands and birds.[37] A unique example in which the flanking candlesticks are seen three times is the sarcophagus from Tebessa[38] where the centre panel is occupied by a woman with an uncovered right breast and shoulder, seated on a throne between two candlesticks and holding a chalice in her raised left hand. There is some kind of helmet on her head. The panel on the left shows a figure in an orant pose between candlesticks, and in the panel on the right a military figure with a scroll in one hand also stands between two candlesticks. The candles are the only independent attributes or symbols on the sarcophagus and in comparison with the figures they are rendered on a large scale. The identity of the figures has not been determined.[39] The importance and popularity of the candlesticks motif in North Africa is shown again by its appearance together with a non-human central image in a tomb mosaic found in Kélibia,[40] where the candlesticks flank the Christogram with Alpha and Omega in a wreath, with two flowers above. In a sixth-century mosaic decorating a piscine, also from Kélibia and today in the Bardo Museum[41] we have evidence of the use of the motif in liturgical art as well.

Notwithstanding the wide distribution of the candlesticks in Proconsular Africa, it seems to me misleading to set aside the simple fact that not one of the African programmes in which the motif is included contains all or even any of the other elements of the casket decoration.[42] The situation is clearly different when we look at representations of the motif on the other side of the Mediterranean, which difference may be an outcome of the inclusion of the flanking candlesticks first in a funerary context but later mainly in liturgical art.

[37] For additional examples, see Duval, *La Mosaïque funéraire*, fig. 22, 23.

[38] *Rep. III, no. 607.*

[39] The central personage has been interpreted as Rome or *Ecclesia Romana*; the discussion has recently been reopened by G. Bühl, *Constantinopolis und Roma*, *Stadtpersonifikationen der Spätantike* (Zurich: Akanthus, 1995), 297–9, fig. 145. For Rome: S. Gsell, *Musée de Tébessa* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1902), 31; J. Christern, *Das frühchristliche Pilgerheiligtum*, *Tebessa; Architektur und Ornamentik einer spätantiken Bauhütte in Nordafrika* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1976), 84. For *Ecclesia Romana*: J. Wilpert, 'La chiesa Romana sul sarcophago di Tebessa', *RivAC* 11 (1934), 249–64.

[40] Duval, *La Mosaïque funéraire*, fig. 26.

[41] S. Ristow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*, JbAC Suppl., 27 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1998), cat. no. 728, pl. 34, b.

[42] Although De Rossi and others following him were unconvincingly determined to find a similarity between the architectural structures on the casket's corners and an architectural representation in a mosaic of a chapel west of Thabarca. See De Rossi, *Capsella reliquiaria Africana*, 22; Árnason, 'Early Christian Silver', fig. 28; Buschhausen, 243.

The candlesticks motif appears in Italian works of different media. In funerary circumstances it is engraved on tombstones, carved on sarcophagi, or painted on catacomb walls. It is pointless to try to define where the motif first appeared; it is also of no great importance. I will only note a third-century fragment of a Roman strigil sarcophagus discovered in the Cimitero di Pretestato in Rome,[43] where the deceased's bust medallion is in the middle, over two eagles. One end of the panel is broken, but the other shows a candleholder with a candle. We can assume that a similar object was placed in the opposite corner. Relevant to the representation on the Africana is a tombstone found in Ager Veranus (S. Lorenzo fuori le mura), dated to the fifth century,[44] where in the middle the deceased, Bessula, is standing in an orant pose flanked by two monumental candlesticks with burning candles (Fig. 55). In the upper left corner, next to Bessula's head, is a male bust. The right corner has not survived but perhaps we may infer another bust. At the base of the tombstone, below Bessula's feet and the candlesticks, an inscription tells us of the well-deserving Bessula, who lived for about three years: in peace [may she rest].[45] Each candlestick stands on a fish-shaped tripod; the shaft is formed by six ring-like segments and there is a cup for the candle. All the parts are familiar to us from the Africana casket, but the design is different. Nonetheless, the tripod bases of the candlesticks stand on the same line as Bessula's feet. The candlesticks do not hover in the background but, as in the Africana, have their own space in the composition while forming a unified group with the deceased.[46]

Even more to our point is the representation of Januarius, from the first half of the fifth century, on the central arcosolium wall of the Cominia and Nicatiola cubiculum in the catacombs of S. Gennaro in Capodimonte, where, as seen above, the venerated martyr stands flanked by two monumental candlesticks with burning candles, between Cominia and Nicatiola (Fig. 51). The candlesticks separate him from the others, and it is clear that they make a group with the martyr, together forming the central part of the composition as on the Africana lid. As on the Bessula tombstone and the Africana casket, here too the candlesticks have a tripod base, a shaft, and a cup. The candlestick bases are again in a

[43] G. Wilpert, *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi* (Rome: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1929–1936), vol. 3, pl. 268, 2.

[44] Formerly in the Lateran Museum, today in the Vatican, Museo Pio Cristiano. Ibid., 9, fig. 227; F. J. Dölger, *Ichtys, die Fisch-Denkmäler in der frühchristlichen Plastik Malerei und Kleinkunst* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1928), vol. 4, pl. 147.

[45] BESSULA BENEMERENTI IN PACE, QUE VIXIT AN[NIS] P[LUS] M[INUS] III. The number of years is debatable. See *ICUR* NS. 7 (1980), no. 18530.

[46] The African provenance of the candlesticks motif was so generally accepted that when Gagé described the Roman epitaph of Bessula, he called it a 'ganz afrikanische Bild'. Gagé, 'Fackel (Kerze)', 198. For a tombstone found in Aquileia engraved with a flanking candlesticks motif, see H. Leclercq, s.v. 'Candélabre', in *DACL* 2/2 (1925), 1834–42, fig. 2009.

line with Januarius' feet. The candlesticks are taller than Nicatiola, and of the same height as Cominia. They reach almost to Januarius' raised palms.

Januarius is not the only personage to be flanked by candlesticks in Capodimonte. The candlesticks motif seems to be of strong local Neapolitan significance, since it appears three times more, twice in S. Gennaro, dated later than the arcosolium of Cominia and Nicatiola, and once in the catacomb of S. Gaudioso.[47] Such a repeated theme could well have influenced the decoration programme of a portable object, especially considering that both figures are young-looking, represented in Christ-like guise and flanked by candlesticks. However, any conclusion concerning the identity of the Africana martyr would be premature at this point of the discussion, in view of the fact that the candles, as they figure in the crypt of S. Cecilia, are not strictly a Januarius attribute. Indeed Achelis in his publication of the catacombs in Capodimonte did not associate a specific martyr with the candlesticks but rather suggested that they were intended to provide safety from the devil, and/or to honour the saint[48] or whoever else is

[47] The other representations in S. Gennaro containing a pair of candles in a depiction of a deceased are of later date than the arcosolium of Cominia and Nicatiola, although they are located in the same gallery. The first arcosolium on the right, dated to the beginning of the 6th cent., is of the Teotecno family. It contains three figures, a full-length young girl, flanked by her parents in half figure, and two pairs of candles. All three personage are in orant pose. The father's right hand and the mother's left are set back a little, to avoid overlapping the girl. A crown or diadem descends above her head. Besides the names and ages next to the heads, an inscription runs along the arch of the arcosolium: '† QVE ABET DEPOSITIONEM IDVS IANVARIAS † QVI DEPOSITVS EST NONAS IANVARIAS †'. See H. Brandenburg, in Brenk, *Spätantike*, 136, fig. 67; Fasola, *Le Catacombe di S. Gennaro*, fig. 68, pl. Va; Achelis, *Die Katakomben von Neaple*, pl. 32 (watercolor) dates it to the early 5th cent. and says that the triple appearance of the cross in the inscription was typical for the period from 444 to the 6th cent. The second depiction is in the next arcosolium on the right, belonging to Proculus, of whom we see the upper body flanked by two candlesticks with burning candles. Achelis, *Die Katakomben von Neaple*, pl. 27 (watercolor); Fasola, *Le Catacombe di S. Gennaro*, pl. Vb; H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence, A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 82, suggests that according to the costume Proculus might have been a presbyter. The depiction in S. Gaudioso, dated to the 5th cent., is on the back wall of Pascentius' arcosolium. Pascentius is depicted on the right of St Peter who is the central figure in the composition; there is another figure on Peter's left, probably St Paul. The inscription is: 'PASCENTIVS S PETRVS S P . . .'. All three are flanked by two large candlesticks with burning candles. See Achelis, *Die Katakomben von Neaple*, pl. 39 (watercolor); A. Bellucci, 'Le catacombe di S. Gaudioso e do S. Eufemia a Napoli', *RACrist* 11(1934), 73–118; De Rossi, *Capsella reliquiaria Africana*, 22. The Campanian use of the pair of candlesticks motif is seen also on an engraved marble slab dated to the end of the 5th or the 6th century. The slab is inserted in the wall of the crypt of the Cathedral in Nola. At the centre, a vine pattern frame encloses a monumental gemmed cross from whose arms hang the letters Alpha and Omega. The cross stands on the four rivers of paradise and is sourrounded by birds, stars, and flowers. The whole is flanked by two monumental candlesticks, shaped like the pair seen next to Januarius in Capodimonte. It is possible that this marble slab formed part of the altar in the shrine of Felix in Nola. It was recently been described as a copy of the apse mosaic in Nola. See T. Lehmann, *Paulinus Nolanus und die Basilica Nova in Cimitile/Nola; Studien zu einem zentralen Denkmal der spätanik-frühchristlichen Architektur*, Spätantike—Frühes Christentum—Byzanz. Kunst im ersten Jahrtausend. Studien und Perspektiven, 19 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), 167, fig. 96.

[48] Achelis, *Die Katakomben von Neaple*, 63 and 69.

placed between them, while De Rossi interpreted the motif as an echo of ceremonial vessels and funerary rituals. The latter notion may have relied on textual evidence as, for example, a miracle told by Augustine, where two candelabra lit next to the reliquary of St Stephen symbolized the light of the Christian faith.[49]

The cultic association of the candlesticks may be attested also outside the funerary context. The two candles are depicted in calendar compositions on both sides of the Mediterranean, where they accompany representations of deities and rulers. I will limit myself to a few examples demonstrating the geographical distribution as well as the various media in which the association of the motif with a calendar occurs. The first is a fifth-or sixth-century floor mosaic from Byrsa, near Carthage, once decorated with a pattern of interlacing bands forming medallions containing images. The only legible fragment, today in the Louvre, is the personification of Carthage originally placed in the central medallion of the top row (Fig. 56).[50] Wearing a tunic and palla, her raised hands holding flowers, she is flanked by candlesticks with burning candles. The head was damaged during restoration, so that it is not clear if there was originally a halo with rays. In a nineteenth century sketch, made when the mosaic was discovered, the shape looks more like a city-wall crown. It is also not clear if the flowers in the hands, one in full bloom and the other less so, originally looked as they do now. However, the sketch does provide a clear calendaric context. The medallions in the top row, on either side of the Carthage tyche, and in between this row and the next one, represent the four seasons, paralleled by the four circus charioteers.[51]

[49] The miracle recounted by Augustine concerns the pious Vitula who wished for the conversion of her husband. During the night she had a vision of *duo cerofaria luminosa, pariter igne flammantia* at the memorial place of the saint, and her husband said: *Vitula, melius lucet cerofarium nostrum*. Shortly afterwards, he converted (Augustine, *Miracula sancti Stephani,* Lib. II, 2, *PL* 41, col. 846); De Rossi, *Capsella reliquiaria Africana*, 24; Gagé, 'Fackel (Kerze)', 201. The lighting of candles next to relics in daylight is known also from a quotation from Vigilantius which Jerome gives in *Contra Vigilantium* 4 (*PL* 23, cols. 342–3): *sole adhuc fulgente, moles cereorum accendi, et ubicumque pulvisculum nescio quod, in modico vasculo pretioso linteamine circumdatum osculantes adorant*; 'While the sun is still shining, piles of candles are lit and everywhere a tiny bit of dust, wrapped in a costly linen vessel, is kissed and adored'; trans. D. G. Hunter, 'Vigilantius of Calagurris and Victricius of Rouen: Ascetics, Relics, and Clerics in Late Roman Gaul', *JECS* 7 (1999), 424.

[50] Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. MA 1788; Baratte and Duval, *Catalogue des mosaïques*, 76–8, no. 38a–c; K. M. D. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 251, no.11; id., 'The Victorious Charioteer on Mosaics and Related Monuments,' *AJA* 86 (1982), 75; D. Parrish, *Season Mosaics of Roman North Africa* (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 1984), no. 16, pls. 25, 26; R. Vollkommer, s.v. 'Carthago', *LIMC* 3 (1986), 183, no. 7; Clover, M., 'Felix Carthago,' *DOP* 40 (1986), 1–50; Bühl, *Constantinopolis und Roma*, 280–3, figs. 141, 142.

[51] In the Roman empire the circus was the leading entertainment at the turn of the New Year, thus the *spina* came to represent the *circulus anni*. See, Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 89.

In a much earlier floor mosaic from El Djem (Thysdrus) at the Maison des Mois, dated to 222–35 (probably under Alexander Severus),[52] the months and the four seasons are set in emblemata within ornamental frames, and are represented by religious festivals and a few genre scenes. April has two dancers each holding two torches in front of a statuette of Venus placed above them under a gabled roof.[53] A variation of this picture is seen near Rome. The fragmentary calendar floor mosaic from Ostia shows two months, March and April (Fig. 57).[54] Although it is badly damaged, the surviving part of April contains our motif. The month of fertility is represented by a statuette of Venus, standing on a tall altar in a bower; two candles are burning in front of the statuette.[55] The missing part probably had a dancer figure, as the surviving feet suggest. The mosaic is dated by Beccati to *c.*250 CE and by others to *c.*300 CE. These three examples show how the candles participate in calendar pavements, promising the householder fruitfulness and prosperity throughout the year.[56] In other words, the calendar promises a successful, continuous cycle.[57]

The association of the candlesticks motif with a calendar continues into the fifth century. The promise of a fruitful, continuous time cycle is obviously relevant for people in ruling positions, and so we find the candles in an official calendar of the fifth century, the *Notitia dignitatum*,[58] where two pairs of candles flank an image of the emperor on the page of the praetorian prefect, representing the ceremony of homage. It is possible that the candles attest a moment in the performance of the cult of the emperor.[59] The general opinion is that the flanking

[52] El Djem 22,d; Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman Africa*, 260, fig. 99; Parrish, *Seasons Mosaics*, no. 29, pl. 42.

[53] For the use of candles in the cult of statuettes, see Gagé, 'Fackel (Kerze)', 162.

[54] G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia IV, Mosaici e Pavimenti Marmorei* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1961), 235–241, pl. CCII; G. Åkerström-Hougen, *The Calendar and Hunting Mosaic of the Villa of the Falconer in Argos; A Study in Early Christian Iconography* (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen, 1974), 127, figs. 43/2 44/2.

[55] Cf. M. P. Nilsson, 'Lampen und Kerzen im Kult der Antike', in id., *Opuscula Selecta* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1960), 189–214, esp. 205.

[56] Cf. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman Africa*, 160, for the fertility of the revolving year as the main theme in African calendar mosaics.

[57] A variation of this scene appears in the Roman Calendar of 354, known also as the Calendar of Philocalus, preserved only in later copies. In the Vienna copy of the calendar (Nat. Bib. Cod. 3416), a male performer dances in front of the statuette of Venus standing high on an altar(?) surrounded by a bower. Between the dancer and the statuette is a tall candlestick with a burning candle. The accompanying poem refers to the 'month of Venus' and the lighted candle. See Åkerström-Hougen, *The Calendar and Hunting Mosaic*, 131, figs. 44/1, 84. For the Calendar of 354 see most recently M. R. Salzman, s.v. 'Kalender II (Chronograph von 354)', *RAC* 19 (2001), 1177–91, with earlier bibliography.

[58] Preserved only in medieval copies. For instance: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. Mon. 10291, fol. 178; P. C. Berger, *The Insignia of the Notitia Dignitatum* (New York: Garland, 1981), fig. 1.

[59] Nilsson, 'Lampen und Kerzen im Kult der Antike', 206; M. Clauss, *Kaiser und Gott, Herrscherkult im römischen Reich* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1999), 330.

candles were transferred from the imperial cult to the cult of relics. This explanation is supported by descriptions of the reception of relics in cities or new basilicas, a ceremony adopted from the imperial world of images and symbols.[60] Nevertheless, on the basis of the various visual examples adduced, we can assume that besides echoing a real ceremony, the candles also carry the meaning of a wish or a promise for a good calendar term.

The association with time may also account for the appearance of candles in funerary art, where hope for resurrection is based on time and its end.[61] The cycle of time could have influenced the combination of Daniel in the Lions' Den and two monumental flanking candlesticks with lighted candles. This image occurs in a burial cave near Kibbutz Lochamey Hageta'ot in western Galilee, discovered in 1971 (Fig. 58).[62] The paintings in the tomb cover all four walls and the two arcosolia. Daniel is the only narrative scene located at what seems to be the most important place in the tomb, on the western wall opposite the entrance. On the inner wall of the arcosolium, above Daniel, is a kantharos giving rise to a vine scroll whose tendrils enclose a variety of birds. Above the kantharos, among the vine tendrils, is a decorated cross flanked by the Greek letters Alpha and Omega. Another, larger, cross also acompanied by Alpha and Omega, placed in a rich wreath tied with long wavy ribbons, is represented on the north wall. The tomb is

[60] Gagé, 'Fackel (Kerze)', 175–89; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 103; Bühl, *Constantinopolis und Roma*, 97–98; K. G. Holum and G. Vikan, 'The Trier Ivory, Adventus Ceremonial, and the Relics of St. Stephen', *DOP* 33 (1979), 115–33; E. H. Kantorowicz, 'The "King's Advent" and the enigmatic panels in the doors of Santa Sabina', *AB* 26 (1944), 207–31; for a description of the reception of relics, written by Victricius of Rouen in *c.*396, see Ch. 3. For the use of candles in the liturgy of the Bishop's procession in the church of Hagia Sophia and in the Lateran from the 4th cent. onwards, see S. de Blaauw, *Cultus et Décor, liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994), I. 75–6.

[61] As e.g. on the mid-5th-century sarcophagus of Barbatianus in Ravenna cathedral, where candles flank a cross. See Kollowitz and Herdejürgen, *Die Ravennatische Sarkophage*, no. B10, pls. 48,2; 49,1; 50,1–2; 51,1–4; 52,1–3. Candlesticks with burning candles appear on two 7th-cent. sarcophagi from Ravenna, where they flank crosses set in an architectural frame (Kollwitz and Herdejürgen, *Die Ravennatische Sarkophage*, pls. 86.2 and 86.3). One of the crosses on the Felix sarcophagus in S. Apollinare in Classe has a suspended Alpha and Omega (Kollwitz and Herdejürgen, *Die Ravennatische Sarkophage*, pl. 86.3). For a different interpretation of the flanking candlesticks motif on this sarcophagus see Heid, S., *Kreuz Jerusalem Kosmos; Aspekte frühchristlicher Staurologie*, JbAC Suppl., 31 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2001), 202–8, dealing with the combination of the cross with the monogram medallion. Heid thinks this motif may represent the solar quality of the cross on Golgotha and thus the candlesticks make way for the true light in the middle. However, the flanking candles motif might be read as promising a continuity, a future appearance for the cross that they accompany, whether it carries a solar meaning or not.

[62] G. Foerster, 'Lohamei Hagetaot: Tombe byzantine', *Revue Biblique*, 78 (1971), 586, pl. XXVIII; G. Foerster, 'Painted Tomb near Kibbutz Lochamey Hageta'ot', in M. Yedaya (ed.), *The Western Galilee Antiquities* (Tel Aviv: Ministery of Defense, 1986), 416–29 (Hebrew); T. Michaeli, *Wall-Paintings from Roman and Early Byzantine Tombs in Israel*, Ph.D. thesis (Tel-Aviv: 1997), 215–54 (Hebrew with English summary), and id., 'Funerary Lights in Painted Tombs in Israel'. I thank my student Nechama Deutsch for bringing this monument to my attention.

further decorated with flowers, fish, and pomegranate as well as palm trees. The overall composition presents a heavenly landscape. The Daniel scene symbolizes the salvation which will be reached when the time comes, as promised by the flanking candlesticks.

Indeed, the pair of candlesticks may reflect the cult of the dead preformed in the tomb. During the excavation, two pottery candles were found inside the tomb, together with a glass jar and a pottery cup, all dated to the end of the fourth / beginning of the fifth century.[63] However, this does not seem a sufficent explanation of the painted candles' relatively large size, central location, and the fact that the Daniel scene is set between them, unless their value as symbolizing the cycle of time is added.

The same notion may have influenced the decision to give Januarius, saint and martyr, a pair of monumental candles, thus initiating a local tradition in Capodimonte. Januarius or Janus was the god of beginnings, of the day, the month, or the year. The connection is tempting. At this point a Roman or late antique prototype of the god Janus between two candlesticks would have been helpful. Unfortunately, as far as I know, there is no such image. Nonetheless, other representations of the two candles in funerary art may support the association of the martyr's name with the motif.

A very fine example, dated to the last quarter of the fourth century, is seen on a Roman tomb at Silistra (Durostorum, Bulgaria, Fig. 59), where a monumental candlestick is depicted on either side of the entrance.[64] This setting occurs also in Rome, in the catacomb of Via Rondanini, on the jambs of the entrance to one of the cubicula.[65] An interesting occurance, this time of torches rather than candlesticks, is found on the north wall of a tomb near Kibbutz Or ha-Ner in the Negev, Israel, dated to the late third or the fourth century.[66] The east and west walls of

[63] Foerster, 'Painted Tomb', 421.

[64] D. P. Dimitrov, 'Le pitture murali del sepolcro romano di Silistra', *Arte Antica e Moderna*, 12 (1960), 351–65; id., *The Late Roman Tomb near Silistra* (Sofia: Bûlgarski khudozhnik, 1986), fig. 12; R. Pillinger et al., *Corpus der spätantiken und frühchristlichen Wandmalereien Bulgariens*, Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiquarische Abteilung, 21 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999), fig. 35. In a first half of the 4th cent. wall painting in grave no. 4 of the necropolis of Serdica (Sofia), the candlesticks are placed on both sides of a laurel wreath surrounding the Christogram with Alpha and Omega. On the west wall of the grave, opposite the monogram, two candlesticks with burning candles stand in a garden, and the rest of the decoration in the grave represents grape vine tendrils. As in the North African tomb mosaics, the connotation is a paradise garden. V. Velkov, in Brenk (ed.), *Spätantike*, 321, fig. 396b; R. Pillinger, 'Frühchristliche Malerei in der heutigen Volksrepublik Bulgarien (zwischen Orient und Okzident)', in id. (ed.), *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Kultur Bulgariens zwischen Orient und Okzident*, Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiquarische Abteilung, 16 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1986), 93–104, fig. 9 (watercolour); Pillinger et al., *Corpus*, Pls. 31 and 66.

[65] I have not found a photograph but I have seen the painting.

[66] Y. Tzafrir, 'A Painted Tomb at Or-ha-Ner', *Israel Exploration Journal* 18 (1968), 170–80; T. Michaeli, 'The Pictorial Program of the Tomb near Kibbutz Or-ha-Ner in Israel', *Assaph Studies in Art History*, 3 (1998), 37–76, and id., 'Funerary Lights in Painted Tombs in Israel'.

the tomb are decorated with bust medallions of men and women, seven in a row on each side. Both rows end in torches. Flowers appear on the spandrels above and below the tangent medallions. The volute is decorated with vegetal scrolls and birds. The entrance to the tomb, approached by three steps, is flanked by torches. Above the entrance is a Greek inscription: 'Enter, no one is immortal.'[67] The same location of a pair of candles is represented on a tombstone from Rome, where the deceased woman is standing in an orant pose below an architectural structure.[68] Two steps lead to the entrance which is indicated by two columns with bases and capitals. Draped curtains stretch between the capitals and the outer walls. Below the curtains, perched on a chancel screen, flanking the entrance, are two burning candles. Above the entrance an inscription says IN PACE [M].

The location of the candles on either side of an entrance suggests that they have an association with doorways, perhaps symbolizing a second realm or translation to another world. Janus, besides being the god of beginnings, was, among other functions, also the god of all doorways, public gates, and domestic doors, and as such, the god of departure and return.[69] Thus, the supposition that because of his name Januarius received the candles as an attribute, consequently making the motif into a local symbol of Naples, seems more plausible.[70] It would be inexact to say that the wall paintings in Capodimonte are alone among catacomb paintings in carrying the candlesticks motif; however, as far as I know, the paintings in Capodimonte are the earliest in a catacomb to represent a martyr thus accompanied. We have to wait until the end of the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth to find another martyr between candles, S. Cecilia in the catacomb of S. Callistus in Rome (Fig. 49),[71] suggesting that Januarius in Capodimonte could have been the first in Campania, the impulse causing the motif to be adopted to illustrate the promised cycle of time and the transference between realms.

It is of course impossible to prove with any certainty that our martyr on the lid is the Januarius of Naples and Benevento. It is certain, though, that Janus was an

[67] Michaeli, 'The Pictorial Program', fig. 1.

[68] The epitaph is partly broken at the foot and the right side. *ICUR* NS 1 (1922), no. 1821; O. Marucchi, 'Il simbolismo della cattedra negli antichi monumenti cristiani sepolcrali ed una scena relativa a questo simbolo in un monumento entrato ora nel Museo Cristiano lateranense', *RACrist* 6 (1929), 365, fig. 5; Gagé, 'Fackel (Kerze)', 200; J. K. Eberlein, *Apparitio regis—revelatio veritatis. Studien zur Darstellung des Vorhangs in der bildenden Kunst von der Spätantike bis zum Ende des Mittelalters* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1982), fig. 24.

[69] E. Simon, s.v. 'Ianus', *LIMC* 5 (1990), 618–22; K. Thraede, s.v. 'Ianus', *RAC* 16 (1994), 1259–82; D. Parrish, s.v. 'Menses', *LIMC* 6 (1992), 479–500.

[70] Associating a motif with the name may be compared with the contemporary habit as of, for instance, Damasus, Augustine, and Prudentius, to pun on the names of the martyrs. For this virtuosity see P. Cox Miller, 'Differential Networks: Relics and Other Fragments in Late Antiquity', *JECS* 6 (1998), 131 with further references.

[71] See n. 20.

issue of debate at the turn of the fifth century. Augustine, influenced by Roman writers, mainly Varro, devotes four chapters to Janus in the seventh book of *Civitas Dei*.[72] According to Varro, Janus figures the beginning of the year and Terminus the end. Augustine demands: 'Would they not give his double face a much more elegant explanation by saying that Janus and Terminus are the same, and assigning one face to the beginnings and the other to the ends?' (*Civ.D*. VII. 7). He continues: 'Therefore, since Janus is the world, and Jupiter is the world, and there is one world, why are there two gods. Janus and Jupiter? Why do they have separate temples, separate altars, different sacred rites, and unlike statues? Is it because power over beginnings is one thing and power over causes another, so that the name Janus is given to the former, Jupiter to the latter?' (*Civ.D* VII. 10).

Augustine's comment that there is no need for two gods to show the beginning and the end,[73] recalls Christ's 'I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending' (Rev. 1: 8). The promised cycle of time in the Christian context implies the promise of the Parousia. The association of the two candles motif with the return of Christ may also explain a later combination, that of candles on crosses. One example is seen in a seventh-century wall painting in Cimitero di Ponziano, where the two candles stand on the horizontal arms of a monumental crux gemmata (Fig. 60).[74] The letters Alpha and Omega are suspended from the horizontal arms, exactly below the candles. In one axis with the apocalyptic letters, the two candles perhaps endow the cross with the notion of time, stressing its meaning as the precursor, foretelling Christ's return. This interpretation may be confirmed by the context. The Baptism is depicted above the cross.[75] Indeed, the motif of the two candles may be read as a two-dimensional picture reflecting liturgical ceremonies where candles are three-dimensional objects. A famous example is an altar cross in Sinai, where a pair of spikes on the upper side of the arms is designed to hold candles.[76] However, based on the images adduced here and the fact that the ceremonial vessels are dated later than

[72] Augustine, *Civitas Dei* VII. 7–11. Trans. W. M. Green, in *Saint Augustine. The City of God Against the Pagans*, vol. 2, Loeb Classical Library, 412 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978).

[73] Cf. Thraede, 'Ianus', 1277–80.

[74] J. Wilpert, *Pittura delle Catacombe romane* (Rome: Desclée Lefebvre et C.i., 1903), pl. 259 (1); P. Pergola and P. M. Barbini, *Le catacombe romane* (Rome: Carocci, 1997), 228.

[75] Wilpert, ibid., pl. 259 (2); Pergola / Barbini, ibid. The two wall paintings are wonderfully recorded in photographs taken by John Henry Parker (1806–84). See K.-D. Dorsch and H. R. Seelinger, *Römische Katakombenmalereien im Spiegel des Photoarchivs Parker. Dokumentation von Zustand und Erhaltung 1864–1994* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2000), figs. 27a, 28a.

[76] K. Weitzman and I. Ševčenko, 'The Moses Cross at Sinai', *DOP* 17 (1963), 385–98, fig. 16; J. A. Cotsonis, *Byzantine Figural Processional Crosses, Catalogue of an Exhibition at Dumbarton Oaks* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1994), fig. 13. Compare a 6th-cent. candelabrum from Syria, today in the British Museum, in the form of a cross; a drip-pan and pricket are soldered to each end of the horizontal arm, where the candles would have been fixed. See D. Buckton (ed.), *Byzantium, Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections* (London: British Museum Press, 1994), cat. no. 118 (C. Entwistle).

the illusional representations of the motif, I propose that the meaning of the candles as a cycle of time symbol was the reason for their inclusion in decoration programmes. This could be true also when we observe the appearance of the motif within the church decoration. To mention a few examples: the mosaic of Hagios Georgios in Thessaloniki from the second half of the fifth century, where candles flank martyrs, a shrine with a monumental crux gemmata, or a book placed on an altar;[77] the sixth-century opus sectile decorating the apse of the Basilica Eufrasiana in Poreč, flanking the bishop's cathedra;[78] and the sixth-century floor mosaic in the apse of the upper chapel of the Priest John at Khirbat al-Mukhayyat on Mt. Nebo, Jordan, flanking the dedicatory inscription.[79] It is quite possible that the ceremonies held in these churches influenced the choice of motifs, but it could also be that the meaning proposed here for the candlesticks motif, based on earlier secular calendaric and funerary representations, as symbolizing the cycle of time and transference between different realms, and thus implying Christ's return, was the reason behind its inclusion.

But let us return to our point of departure, the martyr in Christ-like guise between two candlesticks on the Capsella Africana: his identity remains an open question but his role in the composition of the lid seems clear. Following in the steps of Christ, he stands on the four rivers, crowned by the hand of God. On the casket containing his relics the martyr is rendered *in imitatio Christi*, his salvation is promised, and he will be an intercessor at the Last Judgement. The decoration on the body of the casket elaborates and supports this interpretation.

The Procession of the Lambs and the Agnus Dei

The procession of the lambs, known also as the frieze of lambs motif, originated in Rome, probably during the second half of the fourth century, apparently together with the depiction of the *Traditio legis* in the apse in S. Pietro.[80] One of the earliest known renderings of the procession is on a column sarcophagus

[77] W. E. Kleinbauer, 'The Iconography and the Date of the Mosaics of the Rotunda of Hagios Georgios, Thessaloniki', *Viator*, 3 (1972), 27–107, dates the mosaic to the third quarter of the 5th cent. In earlier studies the mosaic was dated from Theodosius I to 530 (see Kleinbauer, 68 ff). Recently H. Torp, 'Dogmatic Themes in the Mosaics of the Rotunda at Thessaloniki', *Arte Medievale*, NS 1 (2002), 11–34, argues that the mosaics were made during the reign of Theodosius I. However, the 5th-cent. date is more convincing.

[78] A. Terry, 'The Opus Sectile in the Eufrasius Cathedral at Poreč', *DOP* 40 (1986), 147–64, figs. 1 and 23, and now A. Terry and H. Maguire, *Dynamic Splendor: The Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Eufrasius at Poreč* (University Park, PA.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), fig. 202.

[79] M. Piccirilo, *Madaba: le chiese e i mosaici* (Torino: Edizioni paoline, 1989), 174–5. Cf. a mosaic found in Syria, where the candlesticks flank an architectural motif (image of a bema?) and are escorted by Alpha and Omega; see P. Donceel-Voûte, *Les Pavements des églises byzantines de Syrie et du Liban; décor, archéologie et liturgie*, Publications d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie de l'Université catholique de Louvain, 69/1–2 (Louvain: Départment d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art College Erasme, 1988), fig. 461.

[80] R. Wisskirchen, and S. Heid, 'Der Prototyp des Lämmerfrieses in Alt-St. Peter. Ikonographie und Ikonologie', in *Tesserae, Festschrift für J. Engemann*, JbAC Suppl., 18 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1991), 138–160; See also W. N. Schumacher, 'Dominus legem dat', *RQ* 54 (1959), 1–39; J. Kollwitz, 'Christus als Lehrer und die Gesetzübergabe an Petrus in der konstantinischen Kunst Roms', *RQ* 44 (1936), 45–66.

from the catacomb of S. Sebastiano, dated to 370,[81] where in fact it accompanies the *Traditio legis*. Together with Christ, Peter, and Paul, the Lamb of God, identified by a Latin cross behind its head, is seen on the hill from which the four rivers flow. Other apostles stand between the columns. The procession of lambs is dispersed among their feet, participating in a programme which presents the sacrifice of Christ through the Lamb of God, together with his victory and glory as he stands on the hill with the four rivers, acclaimed by the apostles.[82]

The Roman source of the *Traditio legis*, discussed in connection with the casket of Nea Herakleia (Chapter 1 §A) is relevant also in the matter of the procession of the lambs. In addition to the sarcophagus from S. Sebastiano, the combination of the procession and the *Traditio legis* scene appears in several monumental as well as minor art objects made in Rome: a tombstone from the catacombs of Priscilla (end of fourth century),[83] a gold glass in the Museo Sacro (end of fourth century),[84] the niche mosaic in S. Costanza (mid-fourth century),[85] and the Samagher casket (early fifth century, Fig. 15), where the motif appears five times.[86] The themes of *Traditio legis* and the procession of lambs continue to appear together in Rome during the sixth century in SS. Cosma e Damiao and in early medieval apse decorations such as those in S. Prassede and S. Cecilia.[87]

The eminent prototype was probably conducive to the dissemination of the combination outside Rome already at the end of the fourth century. The procession appears with the *Traditio legis* on the front of the famous city gate sarcophagus in S. Ambrogio in Milan, the so called sarcophagus of Stilicho.[88] From the epistle of Paulinus of Nola, written to Sulpicius Severus, the biographer of S. Martin of Tours, we know that the apse mosaic in the veneration complex for the martyr Felix in Nola also had a depiction of the frieze with the *Agnus Dei* in the centre, standing on a hill with the four rivers in a composition that included the Holy Trinity (Fig. 48).[89] The absence of the hill and the four rivers under the *Agnus Dei* on the Africana can be ascribed to the presence of the four rivers

[81] *Rep. I*, no. 200; Engemann, *Deutung und Bedeutung*, fig. 66.

[82] E. Dinkler, 'Das Kreuz als Siegeszeichen', *ZfTK* 62 (1965), 6.

[83] Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei*, fig. 5; R. Wisskirchen, *Das Mosaikprogramm von S. Prassede in Rom; Ikonographie und Ikonologie*, JbAC Suppl., 17 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1990), fig. 1 and bibliography on p.139.

[84] See Ch. 1 n. 204.

[85] For the date see Ch. 1 n. 38.

[86] See Ch. 1 n. 29.

[87] See Wisskirchen, *Das Mosaikprogramm*, figs. 2a, 2b (SS. Cosma e Damiano), fig. 53 (S. Prassede), and figs. 29a, 29b (S. Cecilia).

[88] *Rep. II*, no. 150.

[89] Engemann, 'Zu den Apsis-Tituli', 21–46, figs, 1, 2. For a full description of the apse composition see Ch. 3 below; Rotraut Wisskirchen in 'Der Prototyp des Lämmerfrieses', 140, argues that the representations of the procession of lambs prior to the one in SS. Cosma e Damiano (sixth century), always participate in a *Traditio legis* composition (since the representation on the Capsella lacks the *Traditio*

twice in the decoration of the casket anyway: once on the lid, below the martyr, and again on the body, below the Christogram. This Lamb of God does not stand on the four rivers or on a hill; its place is taken by the Christogram on the opposite side of the body. As in the sarcophagus from S. Sebastiano, the sign of Christ's sacrifice is placed on the same axis as the sign of his victory.

The meaning of the lamb frieze has not been fully deciphered. Like the *Traditio legis,* it does not, as far as we know, illustrate a specific textual source. Moreover, unlike the *Traditio* picture, representations of the scene do not include a text, such as the *Dominus legem dat* in the Naples baptistery. However, in some depictions of the procession the two architectural structures in the corners carry the names Bethlehem and Jerusalem.[90] This has given rise to a few hypothetical explanations: the procession of lambs as a visual allegory for the gathering of the nations in Zion at the end of days to receive the Law, relying on Isaiah 2: 2–4; and Micah 4: 1–2;[91] or the lambs advancing from the two cities towards the Lamb of God as referring to the two *ecclesiae*, the Pagan (Bethlehem) and the Jewish (Jerusalem);[92] A further possibility is based on Rev. 14: 1: 'And I looked, and, lo, a lamb stood on the Mount Sion, and with him a hundred forty and four thousand, having his Father's name written in their foreheads.' Thus the lambs would symbolize the righteous. Since the 144,000 were chosen from the Twelve Tribes of Israel (Rev. 7: 4), it has been suggested that the twelve lambs in the procession in the apse mosaic of S. Apollinare in Classe represent the chosen, one for each tribe;[93] nevertheless, regarding this monumental example, others have seen in the procession of lambs walking towards the Agnus Dei an allegorical picture of the twelve apostles as imitators of Christ.[94]

It is indeed difficult to define the meaning of the lambs' procession. However, a partial solution can be offered, provided by the context in which it is often found. Since it is usually combined with the *Traditio legis*, it is often set in

composition, Wisskirchen's second conclusion, that the Agnus Dei stands either next to or beneath Christ, partly on a hill with the four rivers, does not apply). The Nola apse mosaic as well as the Africana casket and the wall painting in the crypt of S. Cecilia contradict this supposition. This is true also of the lambs' procession in the apse mosaic of S. Apollinare in Classe, where there is neither a *Traditio legis* nor the two cities. The programmes in Classe and Nola have additional elements in common, mostly 'gleichfalls der eschatologische Charakter'. See E. Dinkler, *Das Apsismosaik von S. Apollinare in Classe* (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1964), 52–4. For the basilica built by Paulinus in Nola see now Lehmann, *Paulinus Nolanus und die Basilica Nova in Cimitile/Nola*.

[90] See Ch. 1 §B.

[91] Wisskirchen and Heid, 'Der Prototyp des Lämmerfrieses', *passim*. However, Engemann, *Deutung und Bedeutung*, 78, points out that this does not explain the appearance of Bethlehem and Jerusalem.

[92] This identification of the two cities is based on commentaries of Augustine, Cassiodorus, Leo I and Gregory I on the Magis' visit to Bethlehem and the conversion of the pagans. Cf. Engemann, *Deutung und Bedeutung*, 78; W. N. Schumacher, 'Eine römische Apsiskomposition', *RQ* 54 (1959), 170 and id., 'Dominus legem dat', 28.

[93] Dinkler, *Das Apsismosaik*, 130.

[94] F. W. Deichmann, *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, vol. 2: *Kommentar* II (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1976), 259; Cf. Effenberger, 'Ovale Pyxis, sog. Capsella Africana', 647.

heavenly landscapes participating in a programme that alludes to the Parousia.[95] In discussing the depiction of the two cities on the Capsella Brivio, we found that, like the *Traditio legis*, the cities appeared in an eschatological context. It would seem then that the procession of lambs, accompanied by the two cities and/or the *Traditio legis*, is at home in an eschatological composition. The interpretation of the procession as the gathering of the righteous thus becomes plausible, although in reference to the martyr on the lid, the possibility of the apostles imitating Christ's sacrifice cannot be excluded.

The Christogram over the Four Rivers and the Drinking Deer and Doe

By representing the four rivers twice on the casket—once on the lid, below the martyr, and once on the body, below the Christogram—the artist made a visual analogy between the martyr and the symbol of Christ, that is, with Christ himself. As far as I know, the combination of the Christogram with the four rivers, like the martyr standing on the rivers, is unparalleled; but the Christogram over the rivers is the less idiosyncratic image, since it symbolizes Christ. The Christogram over the four rivers represents a rare divine conflation that can, however, be seen in other combinations reflecting a heavenly victory with an eschatological tendency, such as the cross standing on the Hetoimasia at the top of the triumphal arch in S. Maria Maggiore,[96] or the six-armed cross in a wreath over the empty chair at the centre of a sarcophagus from Frascati.[97]

A conflation of a different kind is seen in the pilgrimage church of Bir Ftouha at Carthage. In the surviving floor mosaic of the peristyles enclosing the two courts that lie between the basilica's apse and the baptistery, the hill with the four streams flowing from it is represented five times.[98] There are chalices on top of the hills. In two of the surviving panels a red liquid flows from the chalice suggesting a eucharistic connotation.[99] The representations in Bir Ftouha are relevant to our discussion, since the unusual conflation of hill with chalice is flanked by a deer and a doe drinking from the four streams, as on the Africana.

Indeed, the pairing of a deer and a doe at the four rivers is more common in North Africa,[100] while in Campania and Gaul usually two male deer are

[95] See Ch. 1 §A. [96] Engemann, 'Zu den Apsis-Tituli,' pl. 7a.

[97] Ibid., pl. 7b; *Rep. II*, no. 115.

[98] Most recently on the mosaics of the church complex at Bir Ftouha, a chapter by H. Maguire in S. T. Stevens, A. V. Kalinowsky, and H. van der Leest, *Bir Ftouha: A Pilgrimage Church Complex at Carthage*, JRA Suppl., 59 (Portsmouth, RI: JRA 2005), 303–23; See also Février, 'Les quatres fleuves', 180; Baratte and Duval, *Catalogue des mosaïques*, 79–80, figs. 73, 74; B. Domagalski, *Der Hirsch in spätantiker Literatur und Kunst*, JbAC Suppl., 15 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1990), 145, pls. 20a and b; Ristow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*, 304, no. 921.

[99] Stevens et al., *Bir Ftouha*, 303–23, figs. 6.1–3, 6.15.

[100] Apart from the panels in Bir Ftouha, there is a fragmentary representation of the motif in the mosaic floor leading to the baptistery entrance of the basilica in Uppenna, Henchir Chegarnia, dated before 430. See Domagalski, *Der Hirsch*, 145–6 with bibliography, pl. 20c; Ristow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*, 304,

represented.[101] In many cases these motifs are part of a baptistery decoration. In the fifth-century baptistery of the Basilica Urbana in Salona, the titulus reads from Psalms 42: 2: 'As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God',[102] reflecting the combination of the motif with the Baptism, already formulated by the early church Fathers.[103] Ambrose wrote that the deer goes to the spring while the boar goes to the swamp; the spring is the metaphor for the church, the swamp symbolizes intemperance.[104] He associates the verse with baptism, telling his audiences how Christ the deer came to John the Baptist to be baptized. Ambrose considered the catechumens to be the thirsty deer.[105] The verse was used also in the liturgy of baptism and of Easter Saturday.[106] Here in trying to place the Africana in the correct artistic context, I will limit myself to instances, not necessarily only in baptisteries, where a deer and a doe or two deer are drinking while Christ or one of his symbols is placed on the four rivers.

On a lead vase found at Carthage and dated to the fourth/fifth century (Fig. 61),[107] among representations of a Nereid riding on a hippocamp, a shepherd boy, a Victory, an orant and predatory animals, two palm trees and two peacocks flanking a kantharos, there are two representations of a deer and a doe drinking from the four rivers.[108] In one case the rivers flow directly out of a cross and in

no. 923. In a mosaic from Carthage-Gamart, today in the British Museum, the word *fontes* is inscribed on the hill. See Domagalski, *Der Hirsch*, 146, pl. 20d; R. P. Hinks, *Catalogue of the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Paintings and Mosaics in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1933), 123–5, fig. 140, no. 49. A floor mosaic decorates the baptistery of Qued Ramel, where next to the cross-shaped baptismal font the deer are drinking from rivers that flow out of a shell. See H. Stern, 'Le décor des pavements et des cuves dans les baptistères paléochrétiens', *Atti del V Congresso internazionale di Archeologia cristiana, Aix-en-Provance, 1954,* Studi di antichità cristiana, 22 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Areologia Cristiana, 1957), 381–99, fig.1; Domagalski, *Der Hirsch*, 125, fig. 16c with bibliography. A fragmentary floor mosaic dated to the 5th cent. from Basilica I in Junca, also in Tunisia, shows a doe next to the four Latin named rivers over which there is a centralized architectural structure, perhaps a *fons vitae,* flanked by two additional buildings. It is quite likely that a deer was standing opposite the doe, next to the rivers. See Domagalski, *Der Hirsch*, 146, pl. 21b with bibliography.

101 As shown below.

102 F. W. Deichmann, *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, vol. 1: *Geschichte und Monumente* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1969), 79; Stern, 'Le décor des pavements', 383. H. Brandenburg, in Brenk, *Spätantike*, 129; J. Wilpert and W. N. Schumacher, *Die römischen Mosaiken der Kirchlichen Bauten vom IV.–XIII. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg: Herder, 1976), 305; L. de Bruyne, 'La décoration des baptistères paléochrétiens', *Atti del V Congresso internazionale di Archeologia cristiana, Aix-en-Provance, 1954,* Studi di antichità cristiana, 22 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Areologia Cristiana, 1957), 351–2.

103 Origen, *Homilies on Jeremiah* 18,9 (E. Klostermann (ed.), *Jeremiahomilien. Klageliederkommentar. Erklärung der Samuel- und Königsbücher*, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, 3 (Berlin: Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1983), 162, 2 f; Basil, *Psalms hom*. 28,6 (*PG* 29. 300A); John Chrysostom, *Expositio in Psalmum* (*PG* 54. 165); Cassiodoros, *Expositio Psalmorum* (*PL* 70. 301D); A. Hermann, s.v. 'Durst', *RAC* 4 (1959), 389–415, esp. 408–9).

104 Ambrose, *Exameron* 3.1.4 (*CSEL* 32.1.61 Schenkl), Domagalski, *Der Hirsch*, 122.

105 Ambrose, *Job* 4 (2)1.5 (*CSEL* 32.2.271 Schenkl), Domagalski, *Der Hirsch*, 123.

106 Domagalski, *Der Hirsch*, 123; Hermann, 'Durst', 414.

107 G. B. de Rossi, 'Secchia di piombo trovata nella Reggenza di Tunisi', *BAC* (1867), 77–87, a drawing between pages 88/9; H. Leclercq, s.v. 'Afrique' (Archéologie de l'), *DACL* 1: 1, 740–2, figs. 116, 169.

108 One of the beasts might be a goat. It is difficult to define it exactly.

the second they flow down from a small hill supporting a cross. The inscription on the vase reads *αντληγατε νδωρ μετ ευφρογυνηγ* (a variant of Isaiah 12: 3: 'Therefore with joy shall you draw water assembled out of the wells of salvation').[109] The symbols and motifs collected here do not seem to form a coherent composition, but the inscription, evoking the general idea of salvation, especially suits the drinking deer motif and the cross over the rivers, suggesting that by placing a cross on the rivers, their meaning as giving life and promising salvation is emphasized.

Two deer drinking from the four rivers adorn the left front corner of a sarcophagus lid in Marseilles, dated to the first quarter of the fifth century (Fig. 62).[110] The four rivers flow from a hill on which stands the Lamb of God flanked by two palm trees. The right corner is decorated with the two grape bearers[111] and the miracle in Cana, while the centre is occupied by the *tabula ansata* carried by two erotes. Over the tabula is a Christogram with Alpha and Omega, between two dolphins.[112] The sarcophagus body has a *Traditio legis* scene in the centre, where Christ, flanked by the apostles, stands on a hill with the four rivers flowing from it. Christ is situated on the same axis as the Christogram and *tabula ansata* on the lid. Although the Christogram does not stand on the four rivers, it is part of the decoration programme. More relevant to our discussion is a very fragmentary sarcophagus in Marseilles, dated to the first quarter of the fifth century (Fig. 63).[113] The lid represents a procession of lambs coming out of two cities to meet the Christogram with Alpha and Omega in a clipeus. On the body, two deer flank the hill with the four rivers on which a Lamb of God once stood. On the right is the miracle of the loaves and fishes and on the left the miracle at Cana. Each side panel was decorated with a city gate. Árnason rightly points out: 'If we were to transfer the Lamb of God to the upper register, and the monogram to the lower, we should have exactly reproduced both the Capsella scenes.'[114]

Several northern Mediterranean mosaic decorations also present the motif of two deer drinking from the four rivers. One of the finest examples and the most relevant to our purpose is the drum mosaic of S. Giovanni in Fonte, Naples.[115]

[109] Leclercq, 'Afrique', 740.

[110] *Rep. III*, no. 300.

[111] S. Schrenk, *Typos und Antitypos in der frühchristlichen Kunst*, JbAC Suppl., 21 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1995), 122. The context of the deer scene with the grape bearers might suggest the phrase in Jeremiah 3: 19 where the word Zvi (deer) in Hebrew is used in its secondary meaning as goodly: ארץ חמדת נחלת צבי, thus the Promised Land, and an additional meaning of baptism or thirst. See also Domagalski, *Der Hirsch*, 150.

[112] For the motif of dolphins in Christian art, see E. Diez, s.v. 'Delphin', in: *RAC* 3 (1957), 678–81, with further bibliography.

[113] *Rep. III*, no. 301.

[114] Árnason, 'Early Christian Silver', 220.

[115] Maier, J. -L., *Le Baptistère de Naples et ses mosaïques, étude historique et iconographique*, Paradosis, 19 (Fribourg: Éditions universitaires, 1964), pls. II, VI, VIII; P. Pariset, 'I Mosaici del Battistero di S. Giovanni in Fonte; nello sviluppo della pittura paleocristiana a Napoli', *CA* 20 (1970), 1–13; Wilpert and Schumacher, *Die römischen Mosaiken*, 31–7, pls. 8–18; Ristow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*, 185–6, no. 385.

An octagonal structure running around the cupola of the baptistery joins four corner niches and the four side walls of the drum (Fig. 64). The cupola displays a monumental monogram of Christ with Alpha and Omega, crowned by the hand of God and set in a starry sky medallion (Fig. 20). A girdle of birds, peacocks, baskets, and a phoenix flanked by two palm trees encircles the medallion. The phoenix, standing directly above the hand of God, symbolizes a bird that has known hunger and thirst and will not know them again,[116] as well as rebirth and immortality. Eight fruit garlands mark the eight parts of the octagon, of which only five figurative fields have survived: Christ next to the Sea of Galilee, the *Traditio legis* (Fig. 14), a fragment of the women at the tomb, Christ with the Samaritan woman, and the miracle at Cana. The four corner niches contain the symbols of the Apocalypse. The two deer are rendered above the signs of Eagle and Man (south-west and north-east corners, Fig. 14), drinking from two rivers that flow from a rocky hill on which sits a shepherd boy, perhaps the Good Shepherd.[117] Above the Lion and Bull (north-west and south-east corners, Fig. 65), two lambs flank a shepherd boy sitting among flowers. The four pictures are framed on both sides by palm trees, as in the Africana. The programme assigns the four rivers of paradise to two pictures,[118] alternating with the lambs. Each of the four walls between the corner niches bears two figures of martyrs holding their crowns (Fig. 66). The repetition of the deer in S. Giovanni in Fonte reflects their importance in the baptistery context, while their juxtaposition with the martyrs suggests a link between these two groups that recalls the Africana.[119]

The phoenix and the drinking deer participating in a decoration programme appear also in a recently discovered floor mosaic in Syria, dated by an inscription to 447.[120] The floor adorns the basilica of Tayibat al-Imam, a village not far from Hama. The central carpet mosaic in the apse area contains three groups of motifs,

[116] Hermann, 'Durst', 410.

[117] Wilpert and Schumacher, *Die römischen Mosaiken*, 35.

[118] Maier, *Le Baptistère*, 135; Domagalski, *Der Hirsch*, 42.

[119] A mosaic from the baptistery in Ohrid, dated to the 5th cent., also shows the two drinking deer. Here the artist depicted another variation of the motif: the deer are drinking from a fountain, below which are three heads of river gods with inscriptions of their names: Euphrates, Gihon, and Pison. The fourth, Tigris, has not survived. N. Cambi, in Brenk, *Spätantike*, no. 379a; Ristow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*, 213, no. 511.

[120] A. Zaqzuq, 'Nuovi mosaici pavimentali nella regione di Hama', in A. Iacobini and E. Zanini (eds.), *Arte profana e arte sacra a bisanzio* (Rome: Àrgos, 1995), 237–42, figs. 19–22; id. and M. Piccirillo, 'The Mosaic Floor of the Church of the Holy Martyrs at Tayibat Al-Imam—Hamah, in Central Syria', *Liber Annus*, 49 (1999), 443–64. The carpet-like composition of the mosaic with motifs laid out in horizontal lines without inner frames, seems to belong to a later phase in Byzantine Middle Eastern mosaics, such as the mosaic of the Diaconicon on Mt. Nebo and the west panel of the central nave in the mosaic of El Khadir church in Madaba. See Piccirillo, *Madaba*, 155 (Mt. Nebo) and 112 (El Khadir). This requires further investigation, which is beyond the limits of this study.

arranged in a strict symmetrical composition in three register-like lines (Fig. 41). The upper one has a Greek dedicatory inscription in the middle flanked by two falcons(?) and two phoenixes. Under the inscription two cities, inscribed $\beta\eta\tau\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\mu$ (Bethlehem) and $\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\rho o\upsilon\sigma$ [$\alpha\lambda\epsilon\mu$] (Jerusalem) are represented as basilicas within city walls. The middle zone is formed by three aedicules separated by two peacocks with spread fans. The central aedicule has four columns and a cupola. In its centre the Lamb of God stands under a lamp between drawn curtains. The lower parts of the side walls look like latticed screens, surmounted by candles. The other two aedicules follow suit, except that here the columns are topped with pointed gabled roofs and the central space is occupied by the fountain of life. The third, lowest zone depicts an eagle,[121] standing on the four rivers of paradise from which two deer are drinking.

The sarcophagi, and even more so the mosaics, emphasize the meaning of the deer drinking from the four rivers motif suggested by Ambrose and the inscription in Salona, referring to the thirst of true believers. The drinking deer participate in an elaborate eschatological composition in a heavenly setting,[122]

[121] For the eagle as a symbol of the resurrected Christ, see Th. Schneider and E. Stemplinger, s.v 'Adler', *RAC* 1 (1950), 91–2, and G. Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst* (Gütersloh, 1971), 3. 120–1.

[122] This interpretation may be enhanced by early medieval and medieval decoration programmes in which the motif is included. For example: the nimbed Lamb of God stands on the hill with the four rivers, flanked by a deer and a doe, on the eastern arched wall of a lunette in the Zeno Chapel at S. Prassede, dated to the 9th cent. (R. Wisskirchen, *Die Mosaiken der Kirche Santa Prassede in Rom* (Mainz: Zabern, 1992), fig. 62). It is clear from details in the overall programme of the chapel that it draws on earlier models (B. Brenk, 'Zum Bildprogramm der Zenokapelle in Rom', *Archivo Español de Arqueologia*, 45/47 (1972/4), 213–21; R. Krautheimer, *Rome, Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 130; G. Mackie, 'The Zeno Chapel: A Prayer for Salvation', in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 57 (1989), 172–99). This could testify to an early monumental appearance of the motif in Rome, and might throw light on the important role it assumed in medieval Roman apse decoration. In the apse mosaic of S. Clemente, dated early 12th cent., the Crucifixion is 'mixed' with the rendering of a lavishly foliated cross, surmounted by the Dome of Heaven (Krautheimer, *Rome*, 161–163, fig. 118). A frieze of lambs is seen below, coming out of Jerusalem and Bethlehem to meet the Lamb of God. Between the Crucifixion and the Lamb of God two deer are drinking from the four rivers. The rivers flow into the life-giving Jordan a little below. The stream is full of various figures, and at first sight the deer with the four rivers seem to belong to these. However, their location, between the monumental cross and the Lamb of God, where the vertical axis of the decoration meets the horizontal one, declares their importance in the iconographical programme. The same role and location are seen in the 12th-cent. apse mosaic of old S. Pietro (Giacomo Grimaldi, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Arch. S. Pietro, Album, fol. 50; Krautheimer, *Rome*, fig. 163). The mosaic, begun under Pope Innocent and remaining in place until the late 16th cent., showed Christ enthroned, flanked by Peter, Paul and palm trees. Under Christ's podium were the four rivers, between two drinking deer and a Nilotic landscape. The base of the apse represented the procession of lambs headed by Innocent III and Ecclesia Romana, coming out from Jerusalem and Bethlehem to meet the Lamb of God standing on the hill with the four rivers. Behind the lamb there was a cross on an altar(?), under a canopy. As in S. Clemente, our motif appears on the main axis of the apse vault. It is a link in a chain reading from the top:

composed, among others, of motifs familiar to us from the Capsella Africana: the martyrs (S. Giovanni in Fonte), the two cities, the flanking candlesticks, and the Lamb of God (Tayibat al-Imam). Together with the procession of lambs coming to meet the Lamb of God they bring to the martyr the associations of Psalm 42: 2 and the idea of thirst in Revelation: 'They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat. For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters.' (7: 16–17)

In the Capsella Africana the martyr has taken Christ's place over the four rivers, probably because the casket contained his relics. But Christ is not absent. The Christogram and the Lamb of God substitute for him. The Lamb is the true believers' shepherd and will guide them as he did the martyr to the springs of the water of life. Together with the candlesticks representing the cycle of time, they promise salvation to true believers: 'I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely. He that overcometh shall inherit all things; and I will be his God, and he shall be my son.' (Rev. 21: 6–7)

The Possible Campanian Context

The repertory inquiry, including an expansion of comparisons with representations around the Mediterranean rather than with North Africa alone, justifies the reopening of the question of provenance. Apart from the pair of candles and the deer drinking from the four rivers of paradise which figure in North African mosaics, the elements of the decoration programme are not represented in the survivng monuments of the region. However, the many variations of the two motifs which are indeed found in North Africa may be taken as evidence of a rich repertoire that has disappeared. Thus, without excluding the possibility that the Capsella is a North African work, as suggested by De Rossi, I would like to further an alternative provenance by comparing layouts and style.

The martyr of the Capsella Africana is placed between the hand of God and the four rivers on the lid and between the Lamb of God and the Christogram on the casket's body. The martyr, centrally located, and the pair of monumental candlesticks form a self-contained symmetrical composition where the more important figure is accompanied by two flanking subjects of similar rank or type, completing a hierarchical grouping. The martyr is thus part of the main axis running from

the hand of God, Christ, the drinking deer, the canopy with the cross and the lamb of God standing on the four rivers. If the decoration programme of the medieval apse repeats Constantine's apse, as some scholars think (Wilpert and Schumacher, *Die römischen Mosaiken* 62; Krautheimer, *Rome*, 205–6; Domagalski, *Der Hirsch*, 148), we might have a copy of a 4th-cent. monumental use of the motif in addition to the double appearance of the four rivers and in association with the procession of the lambs. All three are present in the Africana.

top to bottom, and also plays the central role in the horizontally perceived group. He is at the focal and central point of a crossroads and occupies the place of honour in the representative, hierarchical composition.

This sophisticated layout of motifs brings to mind apsidal mosaic decorations such as the one planned for Fundi or that in S. Pudenziana, where the central motif rules the axes and composition.[123] We may also add St Apollinarius in the apse mosaic of S. Apollinare in Classe near Ravenna (*c.*549),[124] who is placed at the end of the longitudinal axis composed of the hand of God, the bust of Christ in a cross in a heavenly clipeus, the *salus mundi* inscription and the saint's own figure, and at the centre of the horizontal axis formed by a procession of twelve lambs. He is the intercessor for the righteous[125] on the horizontal axis, at the end of days represented by the longitudinal line.

I have mentioned only three monumental examples, from Campania, Rome, and Ravenna, dated between the end of the fourth and the first half of the sixth century, but they more or less represent the general situation of apse decoration in Italy of that period. We can draw two conclusions from the three. One, the axial arrangement of the decoration observed on the casket is seen in monumental art. Further, these axial arrangements are constructed in order to refer in one way or another to the Second Coming of Christ; thus they share the aims of the casket's artist. However, only the apse in Ravenna places the saint on the main vertical axis, performing the same intercessor task as our martyr. Even so, Apollinarius himself is not the only focal point of the composition, which is dominated by the clipeus with the cross and the bust of Christ. Thus, the martyr's position on the casket might derive from the function of the casket, if indeed it served as a reliquary for his relics.

In monumental decoration one waits until the seventh century to find an equally prominent role reserved for the saint. Not until the representation of St Agnese in the apse of her church in Via Nomentana (625–38), did martyrs assume leading parts in apse decoration, even when they were the titular saints.[126] The Africana martyr is a predecessor of the martyr in a central role. When the casket was produced, in the second quarter of the fifth century as Árnason suggested and I agree, or the sixth as others believe,[127] martyrs, even tituli martyrs, flanked Christ or one of his hypostases (hetoimasia, cross etc.), thus playing a secondary role in the composition. However, on the casket lid the martyr is not secondary to the main theme but is the principal actor, at the meeting point of the axes and the centre of the representative, symmetrical composition of the lid. This layout recalls the decoration of the skylight niche in the crypt of S. Cecilia, where the

[123] For Fundi see Engemann, 'Zu den Apsis-Tituli'. For S. Pudenziana see below, Section B, n. 202.

[124] Dinkler, *Das Apsismosaik*, pl. 6.

[125] Ibid. 100–3.

[126] For S. Agnese see above, n. 21.

[127] See above n. 8.

female martyr and her fellow martyrs are placed on an axis given physical shape by the central wall, as the lid does on the casket. Dating to the end of the fifth/early sixth century, the crypt, it seems to me, was decorated later than the casket. The only earlier instance I know where the martyr plays such a prominent role, here in a catacomb cubiculum, is the Januarius in S. Gennaro in Capodimonte.[128] We are back at the place and martyr where the iconographical investigation led us. A young, beardless Januarius is depicted as a Christ imitator with a cruciform halo, flanked by monumental candlesticks and occupying the central position of the symmetrical and hierarchical composition.

Aware of the difficulty of comparing the style of a minor art object with that of a monumental one, the more so since the figures in the Capodimonte catacombs were repainted, I would like, however cautiously, to compare our martyr of the Africana with the Januarius in Capodimonte, based on a photograph predating the repainting (Fig. 52). Januarius faces forward, his hands in orant pose, one can see the artist's treatment of body and clothing. The garment is made of heavy soft material, there is only a hint of the body under it: the left hip, the knee, and a distortion of the shoulders, very much like our martyr. The edges of the pallium are designed in a similar way, and there is not a high density of draping. The hands emerge from the sleeves in the same way. The feet are thinner and longer than on the casket. The head–neck relation is the same as well as the features of large eyes and thick eyebrows, straight nose, and small firm lips. The hair is arranged in straight groups of curls. Neither personage has a beard; both are youthful.[129]

A more general similarity may be traced between our martyr and the eight martyr figures depicted in the octagonal cupola of the Baptistery of S. Giovanni in Fonte, Naples, where two of them even hold their *corona martyrium* in front of their chests (Fig. 65). Different hands collaborated in the mosaic decoration of the cupola. The martyrs with the crowns are less like the Africana figure than, for instance, the martyr who stands to the left of the sign of the heavenly lion. This martyr faces forward and holds up his crown in his right hand (Fig. 66). The overall impression made by the figure has some affinity to our martyr. The eyes are large, the eyebrows thick and arched, and together they control the face which also has high cheekbones and small and firmly closed lips. The head is attached to a strong neck. The body of the monumental martyr seems more elongated and

[128] According to Belting-Ihm, C., s.v. 'Heiligenbild', *RAC* 14 (1988), 75, fig. 1, the earliest example of a saint as the principal figure is found in a funerary context, a wall painting in the chapel under SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Rome, dated to middle–late 4th cent. The saint stands in an orant pose between two curtains and two venerators are beside his feet in a proskynesis pose. However, the depiction is not a representative composition like that of Januarius. In other words, it would not suit an apse decoration.

[129] The portrait of Bishop Quodvultdeus (fig. 53) in the arcosolium mosaic of the bishops' crypt in S. Gennaro (mid-5th cent.), also shows stylistic similarities to the martyr of the Africana.

thinner but the way the body relates to the tunic and pallium is the same as in the Africana: here too there is no great use of folds or sharp angles; the lines that define the folds are soft; the edges of the clothing are similarly treated; and again, the hands and feet emerge from the garments with no strong separating contour but rather a thin line that actually connects the two different elements. The garment itself seems to be made of some thick, soft cloth. In general appearance the martyr is close to our martyr on the casket.

As we recall, most scholars followed De Rossi in locating the casket in North Africa, while Árnason tried to associate it with a North Italian–Gallic group of silver vessels. I would have liked to compare the casket with African as well as Italian silver work; however, only a few objects have survived in Africa,[130] where red earthenware was common. Imitations of silver relief and engraved decoration on redware objects have been pointed out,[131] and yet, as will be shown below, the closest stylistic parallel to a North African object is a silver missorium whose African origin is not secure. In Italy, on the other hand, the craft of the silversmith seems to have flourished, since many works have survived, and some of them can be affiliated to the Africana. It is true that in dealing with portable art of the early Christian period it is frequently impossible to arrive at a specific date or even a century. The dates of the works that I shall compare with the Africana are often not definitive. Nonetheless, they will help to expand the artistic surroundings of the Africana and to define a group of related works that display more or less the same stylistic features.

There is no point in trying to figure out the date and provenance according to the oval shape, since this is not uncommon among silver caskets, over a long time span and in different locations.[132] Even the embossed double-braided leaf pattern

[130] It has been suggested that the silver reliquary found in the Royal Necropolis of Bellana, Nubia (Catalogue no. 4), was made in Constantinople. It is badly damaged; see L. Török, 'An Early Christian Silver Reliquary from Nubia', in O. Feld and U. Peschlow (eds.), *Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst F. W. Deichmann Gewidmet* (Bonn: Habelt, 1986), 3. 59–65; A silver plate of a totally different style, made in Carthage, is dated by stamps to 541; J. M. C. Toynbee and K. S. Painter, 'Silver Picture Plates of Late Antiquity: A. D. 300 to 700', *Archaeologia*, 108 (1986), 15–65, no. 38, pl. XVIIa. For silver plate in Roman and Byzantine Africa, see Baratte, 'La vaisselle d'argent dans l'Afrique', although the Byzantine examples are not necessarily 'African' made; and most recently, F. Baratte, J. Lang, S. La Niece and C. Metzger, *Le Trésor de Carthage: Contribution à l'étude de l'orfèvrerie de l'Antiquité tardive* (Paris: CNRS, 2002).

[131] J. W. Salomonson, 'Spätrömische rote Tonware mit Reliefverzierung aus nordafrikanischen Werkstätten. Entwicklungsgeschichte Untersuchnungen zur reliefgeschmückten Terra Sigillata «C» ', *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving*, 44 (1969), 4–109, esp. 8–13; idem, 'Kunstgeschichtliche und ikonographische Untersuchungen zu einem Tonfragment der Sammlung Benaki in Athen', *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving*, 48 (1973), 3–74, esp. 31–49, 66–74.

[132] I have already discussed the Capsella Brivio. See also the next section, dealing with the casket from Grado as well as the Capsella Vaticana (Catalogue no. 15) and a casket from a Swiss private collection (Catalogue no. 16).

band that adorns the borders of the Africana has a tradition and counterpart.[133] The Capsella Brivio, although it can suggest a general resemblance in shape, disposition of scenes, and correlation of decoration and frame, is clearly of different workmanship. The Africana relief is much more delicate and precise. This is noticeable in the treatment of the border pattern and still more so in the design of the figures. However, a similarity can be discerned in a silver ewer in the British Museum (dated 420–30).[134] The ewer, most likely of Italian origin,[135] is decorated with two scenes, the Healing of the Blind (Fig. 67) and Christ giving a key or a scroll to Peter.[136] The relief is delicate, projecting only several millimetres above the surface in a gradual way and surrounded by a very thin contour line. The relation between the figures and the ground line is akin to the Africana. Although the figures on the ewer are rendered in profile, one can not overlook the affinity in the style of the hair: it is set in groups of curls straightened in front. The high cheekbones, the large eyes, and the articulation of the head and neck are familiar from the Africana. In Christ healing the Blind, for instance, the posture reflects the gentle presentation of our martyr. Both bodies are only hinted at: we can see where the legs start, we can discern one hip, while the other disappears under the cloth. In both cases the hands are large. The way in which the hands and feet emerge from the tunic and pallium is similar. A very delicate contour line separates the hands and the sleeves, which end in the same soft full folds. The edges of the garment envelope the feet, but do not hide them. The result is a gentle figure which corresponds harmoniously to the shape of the vessel.

The fifth-century silver and gold flask with portraits of Peter and Paul rendered in profile was mentioned in our discussion of the martyr in the guise of Christ with a cross nimbus (Fig. 50).[137] The setting of the busts in the circular frame, the relation between the head and neck and the articulation with the chest have affinities with the Africana. In both the eyes are large and the hair arrangement is of the same type. The height of the relief and its delicacy resemble those of the casket.

A plate securely dated by an inscription to 434 CE, may conclude this comparison of works in silver.[138] The decoration on the plate represents the western

[133] For instance, it appears on the S. Nazaro Brivio and Grado caskets, and also on earlier and later works such as the Proiecta casket and the 7th-cent. David Plates from Lambousa (Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality*, cat. nos. 425–33; G. Noga-Banai, 'Byzantine Elite Style: The David Plates and Related Works', *Boreas*, 25 (2002), 225–37; and most recently, Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society*, ch. 4).

[134] Inv. no. 1951, 10.10, 1; Volbach and Hirmer, *Early Christian Art*, no. 121; Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 400 (L. Kötzsche).

[135] Árnason, 'Early Christian Silver', 193–208; Kötzsche, as in n. 134, suggests 'West Rome'.

[136] This side is badly damaged. This is the flask that Árnason, 'Early Christian Silver', refers to in figs. 11 and 13, although he saw only a drawing of the *Traditio clavi* and as far as he knew the vessel was lost.

[137] See above, n. 22.

[138] Florence, Museo Archeologico, Inv. no. 2588; R. Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1929), 154–6; Volbach and Hirmer, *Early Christian Art*, no. 109; Salomonson, 'Kunstgeschichtliche und ikonographische Untersuchungen', 66–71; K. Painter, 'The

consul Ardabur Aspar and his son, the praetor Ardabur the Younger (Fig. 68). They are flanked by two Tyches, Rome on the right and Carthage on the left. The Tyches have elements in common with the martyr on the casket: the relief is delicate, only one or two millimeters high, rising gradually from the surface and surrounded by a thin contour line. The clothing is soft, without excessive draping and is designed in a kind of tranquil density. The head–neck articulation is the same and the eyes are large. A great similarity can be seen in the way the feet are designed to stand on the ground line. Yet there are differences. The proportions of the Tyche figures are unlike those of the martyr. They are thinner and more elongated and in fact, Carthage looks so thin that we cannot detect her body under the cloth. To some extent this is true also for Ardabur. The lower part of his body is lost under the cloth of his toga. However, the way his shoulders, chest, and hands are rendered and their relations with the cloth and with each other resemble those of the martyr. They both seem heavier than the Tyches, but the Africana anatomy is more convincing. The plate has been ascribed to Rome as well as to Carthage, since Aspar was made consul in 434 while he was in Africa.[139] This does not help with the question of origin, but may give a clue to aristocratic style at that date. In other words, it provides a definite temporal anchor and thus indicates that the casket belongs more or less to the same period.

The silver examples above as well as the wall paintings and mosaics in Naples suggest that Campania may be considered as an alternative provenance of the Capsella Africana, which could have been made around the second quarter of the fifth century. Could the young beardless martyr on our casket be Januarius? There can be no definite answer to this question but the Calendar of Carthage, a North African martyrology, recalls that Januarius was venerated there.[140] The Calendar shows that the church of Carthage celebrated the anniversary of Januarius on the same day as in Naples: *(xiii) kal. oct. sancti Ianuarii martyris* (19 September).[141] The dating of the Carthage Calendar to 506–535 does not rule

Silver Dish of Ardabur Aspar', in E. Herring, R. Whitehouse, and J. Wilkins (eds.), *The Archaeology of Power*, Papers of the Fourth Conference of Italian Archaeology (London: Accordia Research Centre, 1991), 2. 73–79; Bühl, *Constantinopolis und Roma*, 165–9; id., 'Eastern or Western?—that is the Question. Some Notes on the New Evidence Concerning the Eastern Origin of the Halberstadt Diptych', *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Partinentia*, 15 (2001), 193–203, fig. 2; Baratte, 'La vaisselle d'argent dans l'Afrique', 125–7.

139 He was sent by Valentinian III to Africa in 431, to help in the war against the Vandals. See Salomonson, 'Kunstgeschichtliche und ikonographische Untersuchungen', 70 and Painter, 'The Silver Dish of Ardabur Aspar', 78.

140 H. Leclerq, s.v. 'Kalendaria; VI. Calendrier de Carthage', *DACL* 8: 1, 642–5.

141 Leclerq, 'Kalendaria,' 643; Achelis, *Die Katakomben von Neaple*, 95.

out the possibility that Januarius was venerated there earlier.[142] Strong connections existed between Naples and Carthage,[143] and perhaps the casket testifies to a shipment of a small but precious relic container from Campania to North Africa.

Not excluding the North African provenance but with the possibility that Januarius may be our martyr, it is worth consulting contemporary textual sources where Januarius is mentioned and which reflect the notion of cyclical time and transference between realms in Campania. John I of Naples found the relics of Januarius and established his cult in Naples. John was a friend and colleague of Paulinus of Nola who developed the shrine of the martyr Felix, settling next to the tomb in 395, and promoting his cult as well as that of other martyrs.[144] Paulinus died in Nola on 22 June 431, when he was nearly 80 years old. The presbyter Uranius wrote a letter, *De obitu sancti paulini*, to Paulinus's friend Pacatus, informing him of Paulinus's death:[145]

> And when the holy bishop had celebrated all these things (the communion) in joyful and perfect order, suddenly he began to ask in a loud voice where his brothers were. Then one of those standing about who supposed that he was seeking his brothers, that is the bishops who were then present, said to him: 'Behold, here are your brothers.' And he replied: 'But I am now calling my brothers Januarius and Martin who just now spoke with me and said they would come to me immediately.' Of these, Januarius, bishop and martyr at the same time, distinguishes the church of Naples; Martin, however, an apostolic man in everything, whose *Life* is read by all, was a bishop of the Gallic regions. After summoning these men he extended his hands and repeatedly sang this Psalm to the Lord, saying: 'I have lifted my eyes to the hills, whence help will come to me. My help is from the Lord who made heaven and earth' (Psalm 121: 1–2).

Uranius here gives us the earliest literary evidence for the Januarius cult at Naples.[146] We learn also that Januarius the Bishop of Benevento and patron

[142] For an earlier version of the Calendar of Carthago, composed most likely in North Italy *c.* mid-5th cent., see J. P. Kirsch, *Der Stadtrömische christliche Festkalender im Altertum* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1924), 40 f.; T. Baumeister, 'Nordafrikanische Märtyrer in der frühen römischen Heiligenverehrung', *RQ* 98/1 (2003), 45.

[143] For Paulinus of Nola's correspondents in North Africa, see D. E. Trout, *Paulinus of Nola, Life, Letters and Poems*, The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 27 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 202–6; S. Mratschek, *Der Briefwechsel des Paulinus von Nola; Kommunikation und soziale Kontakte zwischen christlichen Intellektuellen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 430, 473–85; In 439 Bishop Nostrianus of Naples gave shelter to Bishop Quodvultdeus from Carthage. See above, n. 30; Fasola, *Le Catacombe di S. Gennaro*, 146–7, 155–6.

[144] See below, Ch. 3.

[145] *PL* 53. 861, trans. Trout, *Paulinus of Nola*, 294; Achelis, *Die Katakomben von Neaple*, 94–5. For Pacatus, L. Dattrino, s.v. 'Pacatus', *Encyclopedia of the Early Church* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 2. 628.

[146] V. Saxer, s.v. 'Januarius and Companions', *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, 1. 430; Trout, *Paulinus of Nola*, 294.

saint of Naples was revered by Paulinus who mentions him together with Martin of Tours. 'Uranius's dying Paulinus remarkably calls not on Saint Felix but on the saints Januarius and Martin. This prominence must express a desire to bolster the status of the new Neapolitan cult by tying both the saint and his *inventor* to Paulinus.'[147] Both saints are called to descend from heaven and take up Paulinus with them. He will be with the martyrs and saints in heaven; thus, like them, he may return. In fact, in his obituary, Uranius tells of Paulinus's return before a year had passed, when he was seen by his friend John I, the Bishop of Naples:[148]

However, your veneration ought to know even this which pertains to the excellence of holy Paulinus, the fact that even holy John, the bishop of Naples, was acknowledged to have been summoned and called from this life to Christ by Lord Paulinus. For three days before holy John migrated from this world to the Lord, he reported that he had seen Saint Paulinus dressed in angelic dignity, completely distinguished in starry whiteness, and resplendent with ambrosian odor and even holding in his hand a honeycomb shining brightly with honey. Paulinus was saying to him: 'Brother John, what are you doing here? Loosen the chains of your weariness and now come to us. This food that I hold in my hand is abundant among us'. Dilagti . . . he breathed out his spirit [2 April 432].

Since Paulinus came to Nola in 395 and John I was the Bishop of Naples from 414 till April 432, they were neighbours for seventeen years. Not by chance was Paulinus revealed to John, who was responsible for the translation of Januarius' relics from the place where they were found to the catacombs at the foot of Capodimonte.[149] He built an oratorium where he placed the relics and to the right of the martyr's tomb he prepared a grave for himself. John I was the impresario of the cult of the martyr, who became the patron of the city. John's vision of Paulinus, like Paulinus' epiphany of Januarius and Martin, was an assurance that the tombs of the local patron saint and bishops would represent on earth the companions of Christ in heaven. One such companion appears on the lid of the Capsella Africana. The martyr is promised a cyclical future and he in turn promises it to his followers. The translation to another realm, the promised return and fulfilment of salvation are at the heart of the Capsella's decorative programme.

B. THE OVAL CASKET FROM GRADO

In approaching a third oval casket presumably intended to fulfil the same function as the first two, one expects to find similar iconography or at least related

[147] Ibid. 266.

[148] *PL* 53. 864–5, trans. Trout, *Paulinus of Nola*, 297.

[149] *Chronicon Episc. S. Neapol. Eccl*. XIV, edn. Capasso (Naples, 1881), 170; Achelis, *Die Katakomben von Neaple*, 93–4; Fasola, *Le Catacombe di S. Gennaro*, 111.

compositions. However, on the face of it, the oval casket from Grado, besides shape and more or less size, does not have much in common with the Capsella Brivio or the Capsella Africana. Among the known extant silver containers, and contrary to what we would expect, the martyr at the focal point of the decoration on the Capsella Africana has no follow up. The composition does not become fixed. Apart from a Langobard reliquary[150] I don't know any other such representations. On the other hand, the oval casket from Grado, the subject of the following pages, with a *crux gemmata* on the lid and bust medallions around the body, presents motifs that appear in Byzantine silver caskets of the sixth and seventh centuries.

The oval casket from Grado was found in the Cathedral of S. Eufemia in 1871.[151] It was located about 60 cm under the presbyterium floor, lying in a marble box together with another silver casket, which is known as the round silver casket from Grado.[152] The oval casket is 11.4 cm long, 6.8 cm wide, and 8.9 cm high, and consists of two parts, body and lid. The lid fits the body tightly. Both parts are ornamented with an embossed and engraved decoration. There can be no doubt that both parts of the casket belong to the same object and originated at the same place and time.

A monumental *crux gemmata* is in the middle of the lid, on the apex of the convex shape (Fig. 69). The cross stands on a hill from which the four rivers of paradise flow; it is flanked by two lambs who stand on the slopes of the hill, their mouths almost touching the upper corners of the horizontal arms. A leaf pattern runs around the lid. The body is decorated with eight bust medallions arranged in two groups. On one side, a youthful Christ is in the middle, between bust medallions of Peter and Paul (Fig. 70), both in profile looking towards Christ. On the opposite side, an aristocratic woman with diadem and jewels is accompanied by four young men (Fig. 71), two on either side. Their heads turn and bend a little towards the woman in the centre. Between the two groups, on the narrow ends of the oval, are two palm trees with fruit (Fig. 72). A Latin inscription runs round the body, above and below the medallions. The upper part begins with a cross and is followed by five names of saints: +SAN[C]TVS

[150] Elbern, 'Ein langobardisches Altarreliquiar in Trient', 45–52.

[151] G. B. de Rossi, 'Le insigni capselle reliquiario scoperte in Grado', *BAC* 2nd ser., 5 (1872), 155–8; A. Ilg, 'Fund in Grado', *Mitteilungen der K. K. Central Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*, 18 (1873), 83–84; P. L. Zovatto, s.v. 'Grado', *RBK* 2 (1971), 924–5; id., *Grado antichi monumenti* (Bologna: Calderini, 1971), 24, figs. 82, 83; Buschhausen, cat. no. B18 with bibliography; E. Cruikshank Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures*, Monographien der Abegg-Stiftung Bern, 9 (Bern: Abegg-Stiftung, 1973), 29; S. Tavano, *Grado guida storica e artistica* (Udine: Arti grafiche friulane, 1976), 122–6; S. Tavano, *Aquileia e Grado* (Trieste: LINT, 1986), 357 ff.; G. Cuscito, *Die frühchristlichen Basiliken von Grado* (Bologna: La Fotocromo Emiliana, 1992), figs. 34, 35; L. Crusvar, 'Capsella ellitica per reliquie', in Tavano and Bergamini (eds.), *Patriarchi*, 52–4, cat. no. IV.5.

[152] See Ch. 3 and Catalogue no. 14.

CANTIVS SAN[CTVS] [CAN]TIANVS SANCTA CANTIANILLA SAN[C]TVS QVIRINUS SAN[C]TVS LATINU. The lower part also begins with a cross, followed by the letter S of the last name in the upper inscription, LATINUS.[153] The names of the donors are inscribed next: +S LAURENTIVS V[IR] S[PECTABILIS] IOANNIS V[IR] S[PECTABILIS] NICEFORVS SAN[C]TIS REDDEDID BOTVM.[154] The edges of the casket body are decorated with the same leaf pattern as the lid.

The inscribed sequence of the names corresponds to the gender of the five portraits; two male, one female, two male. This accordance, and the identification of the other three portraits as Christ, Peter, and Paul, has given rise to the commonly accepted interpretation that the five busts portray the five saints whose names are inscribed. Cantius, Cantianilla, and Cantianus (*I tre Canziani*) are saints directly associated with Aquileia. Latinus was Bishop of Brescia and Quirinus was bishop of Siscia.[155] The North Italian identity of the saints has led to the view that the casket originated in North Italy.[156]

The question of date is still debated. It has been suggested that the oval casket is the reliquary given by the patriarch Elie as a gift to the Cathedral of Grado, in the year that Aquileia was devastated by the Lombards and the see was transferred to Grado.[157] Paul the Deacon tells of the *langobardorum barbariem metuens ex Aquileia ad Gradus insulam confugiit secumque omnem suae thesaurum ecclesiae deportavit*; thus the year 568 may serve as a *terminus ante quem*.[158] Based also on

153 H. Leclercq, s.v. 'Grado', *DACL* 6: 2, 1451.

154 After De Rossi, 'Le insigni capselle reliquiario', 158.

155 Árnason, 'Early Christian Silver', 211. For the Canziani saints: *Bibliotheca Hagiographica* Latina 1, ed. by the Bollandist Society (Brussels: Socii Bollandiani, 1949), 231–2. Maximus of Turin (d. 408/423) wrote a sermon for the yearly celebration of the Canziani saints, 'De natale sanctorum Canti Cantiani et Cantianillae' (*CCSL* 23. 57–9), see S. Roubach, *In Life, In Death, They were not Parted. The Idea of Twinship in Western Christianity*, Ph.D. Thesis (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2003), 179–80; Venantius Fortunatus (*c.*530–*c.*610), in *Vita S. Martini* 4, mentions the Aquileian saints: *aut Aquiliensem si forte accesseris urbem, Cantianos domini nimium venereris amicos* (MGH Auctorum antiquissimorum 4. 369). See also M. Humphries, *Communities of the Blessed; Social Environment and Religious Change in Northern Italy, AD 200–400* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 73–4, 183, 221–2. The story of Bishop Quirinus is found in Jerome's translation of the entry for Quirinus in Eusebius' Chronicon. He was arrested, and executed in 308. A poem on Quirinus was written by Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, 7 (Loeb 398. 215–19). For further details see A.-M. Palmer, *Prudentius on the Martyrs* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 236–7, cf. M. Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs: The Liber Peristephanon of Prudentius* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 1993, 111–12, with Eng. trans. of lines 31–45 of the poem. Quirinus is represented in the crypt of S. Cecilia in the catacomb of S. Callistus. See Bisconti, 'Il Lucernario di S. Cecilia', 316 n. 17, figs. 6, 9, 20, 25.

156 Árnason, 'Early Christian Silver', 211–12; G. Cuscito, 'L'argenteria paleocristiana nella valle del Po', *Antichità altoadriatiche*, 4 (1973), 307–9; S. Tavano, 'La tarda antichità. Secolo quinto', in M. Buora et al., *La Sculptura nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia* (Fiume Veneto: Grafiche editoriali artistiche pordenonesi, 1988), 1. 148.

157 De Rossi, 'Le insigni capselle reliquiario', 157; Leclercq, 'Grado', 1451.

158 *Historis Gentis Langobardorum*, 2. 10 in *MGH scriptores rerum langobardicum et italicarum saecularum VI–IX* (Hannover: Hahn, 1878), 78; Cuscito, 'L'argenteria paleocristiana', 307.

the design and the choice of the medallion figures, others have argued for different dates, from the end of the fourth until the first half of the sixth century.[159] In any case, this is the earliest known casket decorated with bust medallions of saints identified by inscriptions.[160] Before focusing on the medallions, let us first study the lid, where the jewelled cross adored by two lambs provides the key to the meaning of the whole decoration programme.

The Adoration of the Cross

During the fifth and six centuries the scene of two lambs adoring the cross appears on sarcophagi and monumental decorations as well as in portable art; however, the specific combination of a *crux gemmata*, two lambs and a hill with four rivers, as on the Grado lid, has no exact analogy in works of art. Either there are no rivers or else other elements are added. In our search for the closest parallels, the examples below are grouped by different variations and media, and also by the centrality of the cross and its relatively monumental size in comparison with the rest of the decoration programme, thus giving a better perspective on the singularity of the lid as well as providing a context for deciphering the meaning of the composition.

The closest parallel to the picture on the lid can be found on one of two silver plates from the Canoscio treasure, dated to the sixth century, not as the result of systematic stylistic research but rather on the basis of the treasure as a whole (Fig. 73).[161] The style of the plate is compared below to the casket, since I think they are contemporary, and could even be from the same workshop. At this point, we will concentrate on the iconographical aspects. The decoration of the Canoscio

[159] Warland, *Das Brustbild Christi*, 67, cat. no. D 10, fig. 57, suggested that the ordering of the bust medallions in two groups, one of which contains Christ between Peter and Paul, is an argument for dating the casket to the second quarter of the 6th cent. However, according to H. von Heinze, 'Concordia Apostolorum', 223, the type of Peter and Paul predates that century, and Árnason, 'Early Christian Silver', on the basis of Cantianilla's headdress, argues for a late 5th cent. date. The earliest date, end of 4th/ beginning of 5th cent., was given by Zovatto, 'Grado', 925. His conclusion has been criticized on the grounds of style. Neither the design of the cross nor that of the portraits suit that date. See E. Dinkler and E. Dinkler von Schubert; s.v. 'Kreuz I', *RBK* 5 (1995), 182. The end of 5th/ beginning of 6th cent. was suggested by Tavano, *Grado guida*, 122–6; Buora, *La Sculptura*, 148–51; and most recently Crusvar, 'Capsella ellitica per reliquie'.

[160] Apart from the two tiny silver caskets from Yabulkovo (Catalogue no. 5) and Çirga (Catalogue no. 10), whose function is not clear and the dating not definitive. See Ch. 3.

[161] Città del Castello, Museo del Duomo; E. Giovagnoli, 'Il tesoro eucaristico di Canoscio', *RivAC* 12 (1935), 313–28; id., *Il tesoro eucaristico di Canoscio* (Città di Castello: Leonardo da Vinci, 1940). Giovagnoli dated the treasure to the 4th/5th cent., but on stylistic grounds as well as the Latin inscriptions on some of the vessels the treasure was dated to the 6th cent. by W. F. Volbach, in 'Il tesoro di Canoscio', *Ricerche sull'Umbria tardoantica e preromanica; atti del II Convergno di Studi Umbri—Gubbio 1964* (Gubbio: Centro di studi Umbri, 1965), 303–16, esp. 306–7, 311–12, figs. 18, 19; see also J. Engemann, 'Anmerkungen zu spätantiken Geräten des Alltagsleben mit christlichen Bildern, Symbolen und Inschriften', *JbAC* 15 (1972), 154–73, pl. 6, a and b.

plate is situated in the centre, inside a large medallion. A *crux gemmata* stands on a hill with the four rivers flowing from it. The letters Alpha and Omega are suspended from the horizontal arms. The vertical shaft rises between two lambs, their heads turned up towards the cross, immediately below the two apocalyptic letters. A dove with an olive branch in her beak is above the horizontal arm on the right, and on the left the hand of God emerges from the sky. The centrality of the monumental jewelled cross, the flanking lambs, all standing on the hill from which the rivers flow, are elements shared with the lid from Grado. However, we should keep in mind that the decoration is framed by the medallion in the centre of the plate, so that the rest of the surface is empty, and also that the decoration is engraved rather than in relief. Thus the Adoration of the Cross on the plate lacks the monumentality evident on the casket lid. Nonetheless, the decoration carries a sophisticated meaning. The cross, the dove, and the hand of God together represent the Holy Trinity.[162] At the same time, the lambs under the apocalyptic letters emphasize the letters as if pointing towards them, directing us to interpret the cross on the four rivers not only as part of the Trinity, as a reminder of the crucifixion or of the gemmed cross erected by Theodosius II on Golgotha,[163] but also in its eschatological task as the *praecursor Christi*. This poses the question whether the cross on the lid of the Grado capsella, lacking the apocalyptic letters, carries a similar meaning. Let us look at some more examples before pursuing an answer.

On one side of a sixth-century glass chalice found in Gerasa the two lambs adore a *crux gemmata* while on the other side a tree is represented.[164] The upper part of the cross shaft is flanked by two stars, the lower by the apocalyptic letters Alpha and Omega. The base of the chalice is broken and it is impossible to tell whether or not the cross stood on a hill with the four rivers, which, with the tree on the other side, might perhaps have suggested that the gemmed cross represented the tree of life. However, the stars and the apocalyptic letters place the cross in an eschatological landscape.[165]

[162] For the representation of the Holy Trinity in early Christian art see: J. Engemann, 'Zu den Dreifaltigkeitsdarstellungen der frühchristlichen Kunst: Gab es im 4. Jahrhundert anthropomorphe Trinitätsbilder?', *JbAC* 19 (1976), 157–72; id., *Deutung und Bedeutung* (1997), 63–7.

[163] Dinkler and Dinkler von Schubert, 'Kreuz I', 17; Cf. Heid, *Kreuz Jerusalem Kosmos*, 229–32, for the possibility of a cross erected on Golgotha before the cross of Theodosius II.

[164] V. H. Elbern, 'Ein christliches Kultgefäss aus Glas in der Dumbarton Oaks Collection', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 4 (1962), 17–41, figs. 12, 13 (repr. in id., *Fructus Operis II*, 195–219, the figures are on pages 210–11).

[165] The chalice is attributed to the Syria/Palestine region. For the Adoration of the Cross in Syria/Palestine art, its connection to the *loca sancta* and its elaborated meaning, see B. Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem; Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millenium*, RQ Suppl., 42 (Rome: Herder, 1987), 97–8.

The motif of the flanking lambs is very common in Ravenna, especially in relief decorations, as on sarcophagi and altars.[166] On a sarcophagus in S. Apollinare in Classe, for instance, a staurogram cross occupies the central position (Fig. 74).[167] It is not a gem-type cross but it has the two apocalyptic letters suspended from the horizontal arms. The lambs flank the cross, their mouths, very much as in Grado, almost touch the upper corners of the horizontal arms. Behind each lamb a palm tree with seven branches and fruit, like the trees on the corners of our casket, stands for the heavenly background. The four rivers are lacking here but they appear on a side panel of the sarcophagus which presents another Adoration of the Cross, this time flanked by two peacocks (Fig. 75). This cross stands on a hill from which a plant springs, directly beneath the cross; the four rivers flow down the slopes. The other side panel shows the Lamb of God in front of a gem cross, its mouth almost touching the horizontal right arm (Fig. 76). Above the left arm a dove holds a wreath in her beak.[168] The sarcophagus serves our purpose by expanding the context of the Adoration group. The Adoration by the lambs is seen next to the Adoration by the birds of paradise, the peacocks. The side panel depicts the cross on the rivers as the heavenly tree of life. The addition of the apocalyptic letters is clearly made to convey that as well as being a sign of the martyrdom of Christ, or of the tree of life, the cross possesses an eschatological character.

Discussing the Adoration of the Cross by lambs on sarcophagi, Th. Klauser suggested that the lambs may symbolize the martyrs, the most prominent of course being Peter and Paul.[169] This interpretation very well suits a reliquary function in the case of the oval casket from Grado. Moreover, when the cross is placed on the hill with the four rivers it could well illustrate the idea of future blessedness awaiting martyrs according to Revelation: 'They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat. For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters' (7: 16–17).[170]

The next example supports the reading of the lambs as martyrs. Executed in mosaic, the Adoration of the Cross by two lambs is seen in the Albenga baptistery

166 Kollwitz and Herdejürgen, *Die Ravennatische Sarkophage*, cat. no. B 21 (the side panel shows a monumental cross with an Alpha and Omega, standing on a hill with two rivers; on the side-gable of the lid two lambs flank the same kind of cross); B 27 (two lambs flanking a cross on the side panel of the lid). Reliefs of lambs flanking the Christogram (Labarum) and the Crux Monogrammatica are more popular: B 5; B 10; B 11; B 12; B 13. For the Adoration of the Cross on the altar of S. Apollinare in Classe above the *fenestella confesionis*, see Deichmann, *Ravenna*, vol. 1, fig. 108.

167 Kollwitz and Herdejürgen, *Die Ravennatische Sarkophage*, 70, cat. no. B19, noting that the lid of the sarcophagus is not the original one.

168 For two more sarcophagi with a very similar design see ibid., cat. nos. B22, B23.

169 Th. Klauser, *Frühchristliche Sarcophage in Bild und Wort* (Olten: Urs Graf, 1966), 86.

170 Cf. the discussion on the four rivers and the martyr of the Capsella Africana in section A of the present chapter.

in Liguria on the barrel vault of one of the eight inner niches (Fig. 77).[171] Inside the niche, beneath the vault, a small arch above a window is decorated with a jewelled cross on a blue background, flanked by two lambs standing in a garden.[172] The garden and blue background indicate a celestial realm, and at the same time declare that the jewelled cross is the heavenly cross. The barrel vault above the arch has a large golden monogrammed cross at the centre, in a clipeus consisting of three concentric bands of light-coloured *tesserae* in three nuances of blue. The cross is formed by a triplication of the χ and the ρ, making an effect rather like ripples in a pond. The Alpha and Omega are visible between the arms of the χ. The three tones of blue and the three segments of the cross signify the Trinity.[173] The medallion is enclosed in a circle of twelve doves finished by a small red cross in a blue/silver disk.[174] 'The crown of doves' metaphor is mentioned in the Coptic Elias-Apocalypse, an apocryphal essay dated to the second half of the second century, in the context of the arrival of the anointed.[175] The vault decoration concludes on both sides with a starry sky. The outer arch above the entrance to the niche bears the names of the saints and martyrs whose relics, as the inscription indicates, were placed there: [NOMI]NAMVS QVORVM HVC RELIQVIAE SVNT. STEFANI S. IOHANNIS EVANGEL LAVRENTI NAVORIS FELICIS PROTASI GERVASI,[176] suggesting that the lambs may be considered to represent the martyrs. The monogrammed cross, the small cross above and the jewelled cross on the arch, are all on the same axis, with the blue sky in the background, thus clearly belonging to the same programmatic intention. In Albenga the *crux gemmata* adored by the lambs is found in the context of the Holy Trinity, combined with heavenly space and in anticipation of the arrival of Christ, a composition appropriate to a baptistery.

The monumental example from Albenga shows that the Adoration of the Cross by lambs may appear in decoration programmes of which at least one layer is of eschatological content. It is generally held that monumental representations of crosses, with jewels or without, whether standing on a hill, on the Hetoimasia, or encircled by a clypeus in the middle of a starry sky, symbolize the precursor cross. The most convincing depictions are those in baptistery domes or

[171] M. Marcenaro, *Il Battistero paleocristiano di Albenga* (Recco: Le Mani, 1993); S. Ristow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*, 172, no. 326.

[172] Dinkler, *Das Apsismosaik*, 60, fig. 53; Wilpert and Schumacher, *Die römischen Mosaiken*, 323, pl. 86; Engemann, *Deutung und Bedeutung*, 65, fig. 53.

[173] Dinkler, *Das Apsismosaik*, 60; Engemann, *Deutung und Bedeutung*, 65.

[174] For interpretation of the cross in the baptistery decoration as a baptism seal (Taufsiegel) see Dinkler, *Das Apsismosaik*, 61.

[175] Ibid. 80. For further examples of this motif see Marcenaro, *Il Battistero*, 160–3. The doves also symbolize the apostles. For symbols of the apostles in the Baptism liturgy see Dinkler, *Das Apsismosaik*, 61.

[176] Marcenaro, *Il Battistero*, 174.

apses of churches.[177] Such monumental representations are known from the turn of the fifth century onward, in the apse decoration of the basilica in Nola,[178] S. Pudenziana in Rome,[179] the dome of the Baptistery in Casaranello,[180] in Albenga, as we have just seen, or the vault in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia.[181] Some may think that to suggest the same reading for the cross on the Canoscio plate or even on the chalice from Gerasa is unwarranted, especially in the case of Grado, where the apocalyptic letters are missing:[182] however, as the next examples will show, the eschatological value of the cross as the *praecursor Christi* may be relevant in some representations of the cross in portable art as well.

Our first and earliest instance is an ivory book-cover in Milan.[183] The right wing of the Milan diptych, dated to the middle or the second half of the fifth

[177] Dinkler, *Das Apsismosaik*; Engemann, 'Zu den Apsis-Tituli', 21–46; id., 'Auf die Parusie Christi hinweisende Darstellungen in der frühchristliche Kunst', *JbAC* 19 (1976), 139–56. For a different view see Y. Christe, 'Gegenwärtige und endzeitliche Eschatologie in der frühchristlichen Kunst. Die Apsis von Sancta Pudenziana in Rom', in *Orbis scientiarum*, 2 (1972), 47–59; id., *La Vision de Matthieu (Matth. XXIV-XXV). Origines et développement d'une image de la Seconde Parousie*, Bibliothèque de cahiers archéologique, 10 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1973); Spieser, J.-M., 'The Representation of Christ in the Apses of Early Christian Churches', in *Gesta*, 37 (1998), 63–73.

[178] Engemann, 'Zu den Apsis-Tituli', 30–4.

[179] See below, n. 202.

[180] Dinkler, *Das Apsismosaik*, 57, fig. 20; Wilpert and Schumacher, *Die römischen Mosaiken*, 330, pl. 107 with bibliography.

[181] Engemann, 'Auf die Parusie Christi', 152, pl. 7b; id., *Deutung und Bedeutung*, 61, fig. 48. For the reconstruction of the apse in the Lateran basilica with a monumental cross in the centre see Wilpert and Schumacher, *Die römischen Mosaiken*, 10–11; Y. Christe, 'A propos du décor absidal de Saint-Jean du Lateran à Rome', *CA* 20 (1970), 197–206. The centrality of the monumental gem cross is perhaps also seen in the apse mosaic of SS. Agatha and Stefano at S. Maria Capua Vetere, where it is flanked by Peter and Paul and the tituli saints, and also in the Matrona chapel in S. Prisco, both dated to the 5th cent. See D. Korol, 'Zum frühchristlichen Apsismosaik der Bischofskirche von 'Capua Vetere' (SS. Stefano e Agata) und zu zweiten Kirchen dieser stadt (S. Pietro in Corpo und S. Maria Maggiore)', *Boreas*, 17 (1994), 121–48. The monumental gem cross appears also in later monuments, as is documented by the apse decoration of the seventh century Adam chapel in the Holy Sepulchre church in Jerusalem (Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei*, 90–1, fig. 24), where the cross is admired by two angels, or its representation in S. Stephano Rotondo in Rome (ibid. 143, pl. XXI/2), dated also to the 7th cent. For the cross in the centre of the composition in the apse mosaic of the Basilica Apostolorum in Ravenna, dated to the middle of the fifth century and in the apse mosaic of S. Eusebio in Vercelli, dated to the middle of the sixth century, see ibid. 159. In Vercelli, the gem cross stood on the hill with the four rivers, flanked by Eusebius and Limenius.

[182] Elbern, 'Eine christliches Kultgefäss aus Glas', in dealing with the representations of the cross on small objects interprets the cross as a triumphal sign, a tree of life or the fountain of life. Even Kühnel, *From the Earthly*, 97–107, esp. 97–9, who reads the cross in certain compositions as alluding to the heavenly Jerusalem, when it comes to portable objects refrains from giving it the title of the Praecursor. However, in her recent book, *The End of Time in the Order of Things. Science and Eschatology in Early Medieval Art* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2003), discussing, *inter alia*, the representations of the cross in the early Christian minor arts Kühnel says (137): 'The minor arts offer us a rich repertory of forms comprising a variety of combinations between cross, circle, and square, in contexts that support an eschatological interpretation.' Thus, even in non-figurative compositions the cross can be read as an eschatological symbol.

[183] Cathedral Treasury, Inv. no. 1385; Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 119, pl. 63, with early bibliography; Dinkler, *Das Apsismosaik*, 60.

century, is dominated by a monumental *crux gemmata* set with precious stones (Fig. 36). It is located in the central panel in what looks like a doorway, consisting of two columns and a lintel.[184] The cross, on the hill of Golgotha with the four rivers engraved on it, stands between the columns. A pair of draped open curtains hangs from the lintel, behind the cross, suggesting different realms, one in front of and one behind the curtains, that is two dimensions of time.[185] Indeed, the position of the cross in relation to the doorway and the curtains creates an illusion of the cross emerging between the open curtains, passing through the doorway and at the same time ascending. This image might reflect the account of the disappearance of the Golgotha Cross after the Resurrection, as told in the apocryphal Gospel of Peter (dated before 200). According to the story, two men descended from Heaven to Christ's sepulchre and were seen later escorting Christ out of the grave, while a cross followed them.[186] In addition to the four rivers, the curtains, and the possible reference to the ascension of the cross, its location on the cover immediately below an Epiphany (the Adoration of the Magi) contributes to the identification as the herald of the Second Advent of Christ.[187]

On a silver and gold paten in the Hermitage Museum, dated to the sixth century and attributed to Syria/Mesopotamia, a monumental jewelled cross, on a starry globe base, stands on a ground where four rivers flow.[188] The cross is flanked by an engraved sun and moon and two guardian angels in relief.[189] The appearance of a gemmed cross at the centre of a hierarchical composition suggests that apart from the historical cross of the crucifixion, it could be the victorious cross announcing Christ's return.

Sophisticated representations of the Adoration of the Cross are integrated with the Crucifixion in a group of ampullas produced in the Holy Land during the

[184] For the *porta coeli* see R. Delbrück, 'Das fünfteilige Diptychon in Mailand (Domschatz)', *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 151 (1951), 107; Eberlein, *Apparitio regis*.

[185] Eberlein, *Apparitio Regis*, 42.

[186] M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1924), 92–3; Dinkler, *Das Apsismosaik*, 81–2; Kühnel, *From the Earthly*, 69.

[187] Dinkler, *Das Apsismosaik*, 60. The meaning of the cross as *praecursor* is enhanced by the motif on the corresponding central panel on the other half of the diptych. There the Lamb of God is surrounded by a wreath made up of the fruit of the four seasons, referring to the cycle of the year. For the fruit garland as an illustration of the four seasons, see R. Turcan, s.v. 'Girlande', *RAC* 11 (1981), 14, 19–20; G. Mackie, 'Symbolism and Purpose in an Early Christian Martyr Chapel: the Case of San Vittore in Ciel d'Oro, Milan', *Gesta*, 34/2 (1995), 94.

[188] Inv. no. S-209. V. Zalesskaja in A. Effenberger et al., *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Silbergefässe aus der Staatlichen Ermitage Leningrad* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1978), cat. no. 13, pl. 12; Kühnel, *From the Earthly*, 98, fig. 26; recently, N. V. Fedorova, *Treasures of the Ob. Western Siberia on the Medieval Trade Routes: Catalogue of the Exhibition* (St Petersburg: Gosudarstvennyj Ermitaž, 2003), cat. no. 1.

[189] For the Adoration of the Cross by angels see recently J. Engemann, 'Palästinische frühchristliche Pilgerampullen; Erstveröffentlichungen und Berichtigungen', *JbAC* 45 (2002), 167–8.

sixth or seventh centuries.[190] Two of these *ampullae*, Monza no. 10 and no. 11, are especially relevant to our discussion (Fig. 78).[191] The two are decorated with the same group of scenes: the front has a Crucifixion and a Resurrection, the reverse an Ascension. The Crucifixion is represented by a monumental palm cross standing on a small hill from which rivers flow. This Golgotha cross is surmounted by a bust medallion of Jesus, between personifications of Sol and Luna.[192] At the foot of the cross are two acclaiming figures.[193] The crucified thieves are on either side. Below Golgotha is the empty grave of Christ, with the angel and the two women. The thieves, like Sol and Luna, refer the viewer to the crucifixion, but this is only part of the complicated whole. The location of the cross between the empty sepulchre and the bust of Christ flanked by Sol and Luna, as well as the hill with rivers, points to interpretation as the precursor cross. The centrality of the cross on the *ampullae*, the acclaiming figures (instead of lambs as on the casket), and the hill with the rivers are paralleled in Grado. To the representations on the *ampullae* we can add a terracotta bread stamp also made in the Holy Land.[194] Not only does a monumental cross occupy the centre of the composition here, but it is also the largest object on the relief. It stands on a hill from which a number of rivers flow and is accompanied by Peter and Paul.

All these objects carry representations of the Adoration of the Cross or a monumental centralized cross standing on a Golgotha with four flowing rivers. In these representations we see that from the second half of the fifth and in the sixth century the Adoration of the Cross was a common and popular theme; and,

[190] For the ampullae in general see A. Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte, Monza-Bobbio* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1958); J. Engemann, 'Palästinensische Pilgerampullen im F. J. Dölger-Institut in Bonn', *JbAC* 16 (1973), 5–27; Engemann, 'Palästinische frühchristliche Pilgerampullen'. For representations of the Adoration of the Cross, see above n. 165.

[191] Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, pls. XVI and XVIII.

[192] Regarding the Christ bust medallion above the vertical arm of the cross in the ampullae, Heid, *Kreuz Jerusalem Kosmos*, 207, recently suggested that this combination emphasizes the cosmic and solar dimensions of the salvation event. These dimensions, he thinks, are manifested further by the flanking personifications of Sol and Luna. They provide the event with its universal character and at the same time represent the relations between the pagan deities and the cross. According to Heid, the cross of Golgotha together with the bust medallion is the true sun, which is why the personifications turn their heads away from the cross, leaving room for the true light. However, placing the personifications on either side of the cross might provide an assurance of the continuous cycle of day and night, thus the cycle of time, which promises the return of the cross and Christ's Advent.

[193] These are probably pilgrims. See G. Vikan, *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*, DOS 5 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), 23–4; Kühnel, *From the Earthly*, 95–6. Recently, K. Krause, 'Darstellungen der Kreuzesverehrung auf palaestinensischen Pilgerampullen', *Mitteilungen zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte*, 2 (2000), 9–51, suggested that the acclaiming figures are barbarians from a distant land. Her view is criticized by Engemann, 'Palästinische frühchristliche Pilgerampullen', 164–7.

[194] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung V 2014; G. Galavaris, *Bread and the Liturgy: The Symbolism of Early Christian and Byzantine Bread Stamps* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), 145–8; Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 566; Kühnel, *From the Earthly*, 98, fig. 29.

more important, that the monumental centralized cross can also be interpreted as the *praecursor Christi*. This always relevant message—the sign of Christ's Advent promising salvation—may also be the theme on the lid of our casket. Support for this interpretation may perhaps be found on the lid itself. In discussing the Milan ivory, we saw that the carver tried to produce the illusion of a risen cross. The convex shape of the lid offers the same illusion. The hill rises from the edge of the lid, and the cross is at the apex of the convex surface, as if it were ascending from Golgotha to heaven. This exploitation of shape can be compared with the use of apse niches and cupolas for the same purpose.[195]

From the extant repertoire we may gather that the jewelled cross standing on the hill of Golgotha with the four rivers flowing from it and adored by lambs was first seen in monumental art of the fifth century and became popular in the portable art of the sixth. It appears within the eschatological context of the Second Advent of Christ in various works of art throughout the two centuries, suggesting that the lambs symbolize the martyrs. The composition is sometimes combined with elements referring to the Holy Trinity. The examples vary in medium and place; thus the meaning must have been widely known at the time, suggesting that even when the apocalyptic letters are lacking, as in Grado, the meaning remains the same.

Bust Medallions of Christ, Peter, and Paul

The decoration on the body of the casket is composed of two representative groups of bust medallions on the broad sides of the oval, separated by two palm trees at the rounded corners. The central medallion of Christ and the flanking medallions of Peter and Paul are arranged in an adoration format. Christ is shown frontally, the saints' heads are in full profile, thus giving a visual replique to the adoration group on the lid. This is one reason why it seems that the three medallions were intended to be on the front, apart from the fact that Christ is usually placed in the most prominent place of a decoration programme.[196]

[195] The following three examples are from the beginning, middle and end of the 5th cent. respectively: the *crux gemmata* on the central axis of the apse decoration in S. Pudenziana (402–417), where the long shaft in the centre and the head at the apex of the apse contribute to the illusion of the cross rising to heaven; a vault in the so-called Mausoleum of Galla Placidia decorated towards the middle of the century, where a golden cross, surrounded by stars, rises from the east at the central apex (Fig. 83); a similar use of a cupola in the village church of Casaranello in Apulia, dated to the end of the 5th cent., where a golden cross rises from the east at the apex, surrounded by gold and white stars on a celestial background of three different shades of blue.

[196] The published reproductions give both possibilities, front or back. In Buschhausen's catalogue, Christ and the apostles are on the front while the recent catalogue from Aquileia (S. Tavano and G. Bergamini (eds.), *Patriarchi*, cat. no. IV.5) gives the opposite. I myself saw the monsignor of Grado cathedral take the casket in his hand with Christ and the apostles on the front, open it and return it to its case with the lid the other way around, as in the Aquileia catalogue.

Another reason is the association of this group with the lid, or, in other words, the tradition of the joint compositions. The representation of Christ flanked by Peter and Paul below a cross is familiar in minor as well as monumental art.

Thus, in the same medium, a silver casket dated to the time of Justinian I has precisely such an arrangement. The casket found in the excavation of a cruciform church in the ancient city of Chersones in the Crimea, and today in the Hermitage, is shaped like a miniature sarcophagus (Fig. 79).[197] The body is adorned with eight bust medallions, three on each broad and one on each narrow side. One broad side shows Mary flanked by archangels, the other the bust of Christ Pantokrator in the middle, Peter on his left, and Paul on his right. The three are designed quite differently from their fellows in Grado. Christ is an elderly man with a cruciform nimbus; the two saints also wear halos and they look towards Christ in a three-quarter view. The group is distinct from the rest of the decoration; it is located under one of the four Latin crosses on the lid. The Chersones casket forms the link succeeding Grado in the chain of silver caskets, the difference in the Christ types and the rest of the decoration programme perhaps being due to the casket's eastern origins and later date.[198] A bust of an elderly Christ appears, for instance, on a sixth-century Byzantine processional cross, today in Istanbul;[199] on the Capsella Vaticana (Fig. 80, Catalogue no. 15); and on the Homs vase in the Louvre,[200] both the latter dated by stamps to the time of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius. As on the Chersones casket, the cross and the vase also have bust medallions of Mary flanked by two archangels.

Another portable object with a variation of the above layout is a fifth-century silver pitcher in the Museo Sacro in the Vatican, where five bust medallions decorate the middle register (Fig. 81).[201] Christ is in the centre, between Peter and Paul; the other two busts are of unidentified apostles. The top register is decorated with a cross and four doves and the lower one has the Lamb of God

[197] Buschhausen, cat. no. B 21 with earlier bibliography; Effenberger, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Silbergefässe*, cat. no. 8; here Catalogue no. 13 and Ch. 3.

[198] E. Cruikshank Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps*, DOS 7 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1961), no. 17; For the different types of Christ during the 6th cent. see Warland, *Das Brustbild Christi*, 78–80; For the use and meaning of imago clipeata in funerary, imperial and liturgical art see J. Engemann, s.v. 'Imago Clipeata', *RAC* 17 (1996), 1016–41, esp. 1025–41, with further bibliography.

[199] Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 8051; M. Mundell-Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium. The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures* (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1986), no. 76, with extensive bibliography; Warland, *Das Brustbild Christi*, cat. no. F9.

[200] Inv. no. Bj 1895; Mundell-Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium*, no. 84, with bibliography, and recently, Noga-Banai, 'Early Byzantine Elite Style', 225–37, pl. 47, 3.

[201] Volbach and Hirmer, *Early Christian Art*, no. 121, beginning of the 5th cent.; Heintze, 'Concordia Apostolorum', 222–3, 450–475 CE (after Árnason), and recently, D. Goffredo, 'Ampolla argentea con i busti di Pietro e Paolo', in Donati (ed.), *Pietro e Paolo*, cat. no. 65.

accompanied by four other lambs. All three registers contain an adoration group; the central axis runs through the cross, Christ and the Lamb of God.

The same axis is seen in the apse mosaic of S. Pudenziana in Rome, where Christ is enthroned among the assembled disciples (Fig. 82).[202] The group of seated apostles makes a half circle. The outer figures on either side are more or less frontal, while the rest gradually become taller and turn more towards Christ, until Peter and Paul, flanking him, are in full profile. Peter and Paul make an adoration group in the middle of the composition. As if to confirm this point, there are two erect female figures behind the princely apostles.[203] In the background, the city wall of Jerusalem is depicted with gates and a gabled roof, and behind it, the townscape. In the centre, on the same line as the throne of Christ, is the hill of Golgotha, from which the huge monumental gem cross rises to the sky. Hovering above the city, on either side of the cross, are the four apocalyptic beasts, emphasizing one of the multiple identities of the cross: the passion cross, the memorial gemmed cross of Golgotha, and the eschatological *praecursor*. A drawing by Ciacconio from the end of the sixteenth century shows the rest of the programme: below Christ stood the Lamb of God on a hill with the dove of the Holy Spirit hovering above.[204] Kühnel has noted that 'the cross on Golgotha is echoed by the cruciform shape of the whole composition', referring to the vertical axis made by the Cross, the enthroned Christ and the Lamb, versus the horizontal row of the wall, the gabled roof, and the apostles.[205] But only Peter, Paul, and the two personifications touch the wall and gabled roof, forming the horizontal line, i.e. the central adoration group.

The above examples not only visualize the superiority of Peter and Paul, but also the notion that the two saints, besides adoring Christ, are also acclaiming the cross above him. This is especially clear in S. Pudenziana, where the cross, with its plural identities, links the earthly realm with the heavenly one.[206] As saints, Peter and Paul participate in the heavenly assembly, and as martyrs they sit next to

[202] Dassmann, E., 'Das Apsismosaic von S. Pudentiana in Rom; philosophische, imperiale und theologische Aspekte in einem Christusbild am Beginn des 5. Jahrhunderts', *RQ* 65 (1970), 67–81; Kühnel, *From the Earthly*, 63–71; W. Pullan, 'Jerusalem from Alpha to Omega', in B. Kühnel (ed.), *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art; Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, Jewish Art, 23/24 (Jerusalem: Center for Jewish Art, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1997/1998), 407–13.

[203] Usually identified as personifications of *ecclesia ex circumcisione* (crowning Peter) and *ecclesia ex gentibus* (crowning Paul), following the inscriptions below the two women represented on the west wall mosaic in the church of S. Sabina in Rome. For a different reading see recently, F. W. Schlatter, 'The Two Women in the Mosaic of S. Pudenziana', *JECS*, 3 (1995), 1–24, with earlier bibliography; cf. O. Steen, 'The Proclamation of the Word. A Study of the Apse Mosaic in S. Pudenziana, Rome', *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia*, 11 (1999), 85–113; Heid, *Kreuz Jerusalem Kosmos*, 185.

[204] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. 5407. Engemann, *Deutung und Bedeutung*, fig. 72.

[205] Kühnel, *From the Earthly*, 67. [206] Ibid. 68.

Christ, where they will serve as advocates for the Roman community on the Day of Judgement.[207]

The apse mosaic of S. Pudenziana executed most probably at the time of Pope Innocence I (402–17), is the earliest decorated apse to have survived. A variation on the same subject is seen about a generation later in the so-called mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna, where as described earlier, a Latin golden cross is placed at the apex of the vault mosaic.[208] The cross rises from the east towards the west, with stars in the sky around it, and the four apocalyptic beasts in the corners. Eight apostles are represented on the four walls above the tambour arches, two in each field, on either side of a window. All the apostles stand in a frontal pose, either facing forward or in three-quarter view. They stretch out their right hands in acclamation. Peter and Paul are in the eastern field, beneath the shaft of the heavenly cross (Fig. 83). Peter is on the left, Paul on the right, as in the Roman mosaic and our casket. Between them, below the window, is a chalice holding water, with two doves. Unlike the other figures, Peter and Paul turn towards the centre in full profile. The eyes of both are directed towards the sky above. Paul's right hand emphasizes this direction by reaching within and upwards, while Peter's right hand corresponds. The two form an adoration scene, and also acclaim the cross above them as precursor.[209]

Placing Christ, Peter, and Paul on the front of a casket has precedents where the trio form the scene of *Traditio legis*. The front of the casket from Nea Herakleia[210] has such a scene; it also appears on the front of the marble casket from Ravenna, the so-called reliquary of SS. Julitta and Quiricus (Fig. 16),[211] and on the lid of the fifth-century casket from Samagher (Fig. 15). Moreover, as we recall, on the lid of the casket from Nea Herakleia, a large Christogram flanked by Alpha and Omega is represented above the *Traditio legis*, a layout similar to that in Grado. It thus seems that in addition to the *Traditio legis*, the casket from Nea Herakleia, like the casket in the Hermitage, the pitcher in the Vatican, and the Grado casket, presents a combination of the Adoration of Christ by Peter and Paul and their acclamation of the cross. When Peter and Paul are part of a larger group of apostles, they are emphasized by various means: brought closer to Christ, shown in profile rather than frontally, or located on a separate part of the object. These means are used in monumental art as well, as in the apse mosaic

[207] For the cross as symbolizing the throne of Christ see Heid, *Kreuz Jerusalem Kosmos*, 180, esp. n. 70.

[208] See above n. 195.

[209] Engemann, *Deutung und Bedeutung*, 62. Two ivory plaques in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (1917,17,190.54.55) carry representations of Peter and Paul. Each apostle is seen in an acclamation pose under a cross flanked by lambs. It has been suggested that there was an additional plaque between the apostles, showing Christ. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 147; Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 504.

[210] See Ch. 1 §A.

[211] See Ch. 1 n. 31.

of S. Pudenziana and the vault of Galla Placidia. In all the above examples the viewer sees the Cross and Christ together, receiving the acclamation of Peter and Paul, except in Galla Placidia where the apostles acclaim the cross while Christ is represented elsewhere in the decoration programme. The message is constant: the cross above is the *praecursor Domini*; Christ accompanied by Peter and Paul is represented in his heavenly phase. The celestial context is reflected in the Grado casket by the two palm trees at the narrow ends of the body.

The Bust Medallions of the Saints

The five personages on the back of the body are identified by the inscription +SAN[C]TVS CANTIVS SAN[CTVS] [CAN]TIANVS SANCTA CANTIANILLA SAN[C]TVS QVIRINUS SAN[C]TVS LATINUS. The saints' names are inscribed in a sequence of two men, one woman, two men, one name for each medallion. For the first time in the group of silver caskets, the inscription offers the possibility of a secure identification of martyrs/saints who are not apostles and have no specific attribute or recognizable physiognomic feature.[212] As noted earlier, three of the inscribed names are associated with a Christian centre near Grado, the town of Aquileia, and so provide a geographical point of departure.[213]

Cantianilla is depicted wearing a diadem and jewels as if she belonged to the imperial world rather than the holy one of martyrs (Fig. 84). However, it was customary to depict martyrs, especially the female ones, as court personages, in other words, as of the heavenly court. Cantianilla's aristocratic look could easily situate her in the group of the six women martyrs represented in the earliest cycle of martyr bust medallions in Ravenna, in the chapel of the Archiepiscopal Palace, dated to *c.*500 (Fig. 85).[214] The decoration there contains medallions with the bust of Christ flanked by Alpha and Omega, the twelve apostles and male and female martyrs, placed against a gold background on the soffits of the four arches supporting the vault over the square central space. A medallion with the

[212] This is often a difficulty as e.g. in the Lipsanoteca from Brescia, where there are fifteen unnamed bust medallions. Christ, Peter, and Paul are recognizable. The rest have been identified as the four evangelists, and as (unnamed) apostles. See C. Stella, 'Lipsanoteca', in *Milano capitale dell'impero romano 286–402 d.c., Milano, Palazzo Reale, 24 gennaio-22 aprile 1990* (Milan: Silvana, 1990), 344–6, cat. no. 5b.1i. This identification is problematic since it would give only ten apostles; Cf. Kollwitz, J., *Die Lipsanothek von Brescia*, Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte, 7 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter & Co., 1933), 13; C. B. Tkacz, *The Key to the Brescia Casket: Typology and Early Christian Imagination* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 46–7; and here Ch. 1 n. 156.

[213] For the cult of the three Canziani in Aquileia see M. Mirabella Roberti, 'La basilica paleocristiana di S. Canzian d'Isonzo', *Aquileia Nostra*, 38 (1967), 61–86; G. Cuscito, *Martiri cristiani ad Aquileia e in Istria, Documenti archeologici e questioni agiografiche* (Udine: Del Bianco, 1992), 55–7 and Humphries, *Communities of the Blessed*, 73–4, 183, 221–2.

[214] Deichmann, *Ravenna*, 1. 202–6, 2: 1. 203–4. The earliest cycle of bust medallions in Ravenna was probably that of Galla Placidia and her relatives in S. Giovanni Evangelista, which she built after coming to Ravenna in 425. See Deichmann, *Ravenna* 1. 152–7, 204.

monogram of Christ is at the apex, supported by four caryatid-type angels. Between the angels, as if making an additional cross, are the four symbols of the Apocalypse. Together, all these form a heavenly vision of which the cross is the centre.[215] Eufimia, Eugenia, Cecilia, Daria, Perpetua, and Felicitas adorn the north-west arch (Fig. 86). Except for Felicitas, all of them are dressed in formal court attire and wear jewelled bonnets and shawls.[216] An earlier example of the contemporary fashion of representing martyrs as courtiers in bust medallions is found in S. Maria Mater Domini in Vicenza, in the so-called Martyrion, where a fragmentary mosaic shows a bust medallion with a female saint in a jewelled bonnet and a shawl (Fig. 87).[217] The trend continues into the sixth century, as may be seen in the triumphal arch of the Basilica Eufrasiana in Poreč (Parenzo, 543–53),[218] and the nave of S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, although without the medallions (560).[219]

The Archiepiscopal chapel in Ravenna and the casket from Grado share an additional element, the inclusion of local martyrs in the programme of decoration. The cycle in the chapel contains the earliest monumental representations of northern Adriatic saints, here the first two local Aquileian martyrs, Chrysogonus and Chrysanthus. Before the chapel was built, the martyrs portrayed in Ravenna were of Roman origin.[220] This may reflect the growing importance of Ravenna and the north Adriatic area as a whole during the reign of Theodoric (493–526), when the Archiepiscopal chapel was erected and decorated. Contrary to former rulers of Ravenna, Theodoric made the city not merely a residence but truly his capital.[221] The local martyrs must thus have gained in importance.

The sense of a new departure in the decoration of the Archiepiscopal chapel brings to mind the originality recognizable in the decoration of the casket from Grado, where the martyrs' names are clearly inscribed. However, although the names follow the same sequence as the busts, they are visually disconnected from

[215] See most recently Kühnel, *The End of Time*, 136–8.

[216] For the garments see: P. Angiolini Martinelli, 'Il costume femminale nei mosaici ravennati', *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, 16 (1969), 7–64, esp. 10–16.

[217] G. P. Bognetti et al., *Vicenza nell'alto Medioevo*. Congresso internazionale dell'arte dell'Alto Medioevo, 8 (Venice: Neri Pozza 1959), 30–31, fig.7; A. Previtali, 'Il Martyrion' in F. Barbieri et al., *La Basilica dei Santi Felice e Fortunato in Vicenza* (Vicenza: S. Giuseppe, 1979), 69–115, esp. 105–106, fig. 71, pl. 9; H. Brandenburg in Brenk, *Spätantike*, no. 21.

[218] B. Molajoli, *La Basilica Eufresiana di Parenzo* (Parenzo: G. Greatti, 1940); M. Prelog, *Die Eufrasiana Basilica von Poreč*, rev. edn. (Zagreb: Buvina, 1994), pls. 32–6; For extensive bibliography see G. Cuscito, 'Parenzo nell'enciclopedia dell'arte medievale', *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria*, 99 (1999), 479–500, and now Terry and Maguire, *Dynamic Splendor*.

[219] Deichmann, *Ravenna*, vol. 2: 3, figs. 130, 131.

[220] Ibid. 1. 29.

[221] F. W. Deichmann, 'Der Hof der gotischen Könige zu Ravenna', in id., *Rom, Ravenna, Konstantinopel, Naher Osten; Gesammelte Studien zur spätantiken Architektur, Kunst und Geschichte* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1982), 469–78, esp. 470.

the *imagines clipeatae*. Three of the names even find themselves engraved on the other side of the body. It is interesting to compare the inscription/bust relation in Grado to the situation in monumental art, starting with the Archiepiscopal chapel, where the name inscriptions are placed next to the medallions and accompany them. Each name is written in two parts, at the triangle resulted by the medallion chain. Not far from Grado, in the Basilica Eufrasiana in Poreč, the names are inscribed between the medallions, separating them (Fig. 88). Another development was taking place at the same time, probably originating in the east, and already marking a new phase during the first quarter of the sixth century: in the apse mosaic at Panagia Kankaria in Lythrankomi, Cyprus, the names have entered the medallions and are located on either side of the bust.[222] This trend found its way into leading monuments of the Justinianic period, such as S. Vitale (Fig. 89) and the church of the monastery of St Catherine in Sinai.[223] In the development of the bust medallion/name inscription relation, the casket from Grado is located next to the Archiepiscopal chapel, recording the names of the saints, but not visually combining them with the faces.[224]

The way of representing all these martyrs, that is, aristocratic in appearance, within bust medallions and accompanied by inscriptions, directs us again to the place where their identity has already sent us, namely, the north Adriatic region. Both monumental and minor art proclaim an intensification of the local martyrs cult. The formulaic visual representations probably called for inscriptions so that the saints could be recognized, and duly venerated. At all events, local martyrs have a part to play in eschatological decoration programmes. In this context they must have been seen as local intercessors. The connection between the martyr cult and the decoration programmes of reliquaries is the subject of the next chapter. But first let us continue our discussion of the casket from Grado, elaborating on its geographical provenance and suggesting a date by studying further its layout and style.

The Aquileian Context

Ravenna undoubtedly provides the contemporary parallels to the decoration of the Grado capsella. The Adoration of the Cross by lambs is seen there on

[222] A. H. S. Megaw and E. J. W. Hawkins, *The Church of the Panagia Kanakariá at Lythrankomi in Cyprus: Its Mosaics and Frescoes*, DOS 14 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1977); A. and J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus, Treasures of Byzantine Art* (London: Trigraph for the A. G. Leventis Foundation, 1985), 43–8.

[223] K. Weitzmann, 'The Mosaic in St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 110 (1966), 392–405.

[224] In the chapel of S. Vittore in Ciel d'Oro in Milan dated to the second half of the 5th cent. the name of the martyr was inserted in an unusual way: it is not beside the bust as in the sixth century examples, but inscribed on the open book which the martyr is holding. G. Bovini, 'I mosaici di S. Vittore in ciel d'Oro di Milano', *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina,* 1969, 71–80; Mackie, 'Symbolism and Purpose', 91–101, fig. 1.

sarcophagi while identified bust medallions of local saints decorate the Archi-episcopal Palace. However, the layout of the group of saints on the casket requires more explanation. Clearly, the five busts show that the artist used ideal portraits to represent the martyrs. Three of them, Cantius, Cantianilla, and Cantianus, are known to have belonged to the same family,[225] but Latinus and Quirinus also look very much related to them. All four men are young, they have the same type of hair style, they are dressed in the same way and have the same features, thus forming a unified group oriented towards the female saint in the centre. Unlike Christ, Peter, and Paul, whose physiognomy and conformation were commonly agreed, the local martyrs most likely did not have any traditional representations. Certainly, as we have seen, the aristocratic look of Cantianilla could have been taken from earlier monumental representations, but the grouping of the four men around her might have been drawn from a specific local work in Aquileia.

The southern hall floor of the Cathedral of Aquileia was covered with a mosaic most probably in the third decade of the fourth century. A comparison between a small object and a much older monumental work is fated to receive criticism. Nevertheless, since it is quite likely that the church was in use at the time the casket was made, and since the comparison may support the suggested provenance of the casket rather than modify it, the risk will be taken.

The floor mosaic is composed of ten different carpet mosaics laid out edge to edge (Fig. 90).[226] Three of them represent groups of busts, one in medallions (Schumacher's VI), another in squares (Schumacher's V) and the third in octagons (Schumacher's VIII). Geometrical patterns and/or birds appear between the emblems containing the busts. The other carpets are also designed in geometrical patterns, alternating with emblems enclosing figures of allegories or animals. The plan according to which the busts were placed in the carpet compositions as well as the details of the portraits, are of interest to us: Carpet V for instance, has five squares with aristocratic busts, one in the middle and four in the corners. The bust in the middle is of a woman, the others are of men (Fig. 91).[227] In carpet VI there were nine medallions with busts; only seven remain. Eight medallions are arranged in a square of 3/3, surrounding a central one, their heads directed towards it. The two surviving portraits out of the four in the corners form a

[225] See above, n. 155.

[226] H. Kähler, *Die Stiftermosaiken in der konstantinischen Südkirche von Aquileia* (Cologne: Dumont Schauberg, 1962); W. N. Schumacher, *Hirt und 'guter Hirt'*, RQ Suppl., 34 (Rome: Herder, 1977), 217–307, pl. 48.

[227] The portraits have been identified as the empress Fausta and her four sons. See Kähler, *Die Stiftermosaiken*, 13; Schumacher, *Hirt und 'guter Hirt'*, 295, pl. 63; cf. J. Engemann, s.v. 'Herrscherbild', *RAC* 14 (1988), 1012, and recently T. Lehmann, 'I mosaici nelle aule teodoriane sotto la basilica patriarcale: status quaestionis', *Antichità Altoadriatiche* 2006, XXXVI Settimana di Studi Aquileiesi, Aquileia 18–21 maggio 2005 (Trieste: Editreg SRL, 2007), 25–44.

group. They look alike, and are crowned with ears of corn and vine leaves, suggesting that they are personifications of the seasons.[228] The other four, each in the middle of a side, are busts of aristocratic women, also very much alike, and there is a male bust in the central medallion, once identified as Constantine I.[229] In Carpet VIII four octagons with busts are placed in the corners. Here too they make a group of four aristocratic women, their heads all turned towards the centre (Fig. 92).[230]

All three mosaics have four groups of four busts of the same type surrounding a fifth or central one, recalling the five bust medallions on the casket from Grado. The two works have yet more in common, notwithstanding the difference in time, medium and size: (1) Carpet V offers a monumental example of four male around one female bust; (2) in Carpets VI and VIII the groups of four busts are oriented towards the central bust; (3) the four groups of four portraits represent a unified visual type, in gender, age, social rank or allegory. Even when portraying four brothers of different ages, the faces look very much alike; (4) all the female busts are of members of the imperial court.

The Aquileia mosaic was intended to decorate an imperial palace, dated probably to the twentieth anniversary celebration of Constantine I in 325.[231] About a year later the palace was converted into a church.[232] In 452 Aquileia was sacked by Attila but not destroyed. In 568 the patriarch fled to Grado,[233] and this date perhaps allows us to assume that the church with its floor mosaic was in use until then. Keeping in mind the centrality of this monument in the ecclesiastical life of Aquileia, and the similarities mentioned above, I would like to suggest, with all due caution, that the carpet mosaics in Aquileia could have been a source for the artist of the Grado casket when he was asked to make a visual representation of the local saints. As earlier in Ravenna, this would not have been an anachronistic move at the time; rather it could be seen as adjusting contemporary fashion to local compositional traditions.

The question of contemporary fashion necessarily leads us into detailed stylistic analysis. My point of departure is the plate from Canoscio (Fig. 73). In discussing the composition of the Grado lid, I suggested that the plate and the

[228] Kähler, *Die Stiftermosaiken*, 12; Schumacher, *Hirt und 'guter Hirt'*, 287–8.

[229] They female busts have been said to be Constantine I's daughters or sisters. See Kähler, *Die Stiftermosaiken*, 12–15; Schumacher, *Hirt und 'guter Hirt'*, 288–92, pl. 59a, 60a; cf. Engemann, 'Herrscherbild', 1012, Lehmann, 'I mosaici nelle aule teodoriane'.

[230] Schumacher, *Hirt und 'guter Hirt'*, 299.

[231] Ibid. 296–300.

[232] Ibid. 307. This fact is overlooked in Humphries (*Communities of the Blessed*, 74–8), who comes to his conclusions regarding the socio-economic status of the church and the cultural profile of the city's Christian community on the basis of the notion that the church was originally built as such. For this perpetuated mistake see Engemann, 'Herrscherbild', 1012; id., *Deutung und Bedeutung*, 55–9.

[233] See above, n. 158.

casket were produced in the same workshop. Here I shall try to argue for this supposition.[234] The stylistic comparison between the Grado casket and the Canoscio plate may begin with the relation between frame and picture. In both works the objects depicted sometimes approach very close to the frame but do not touch it except at the ground line. The hind legs and the tails of the lambs, for instance, are close to the frame and follow its contour, but do not touch it. In neither work is any ornamental motif added to the subject matter, and the surface between the representation and the frame is left empty. In comparison with the Brivio casket (Fig. 3), where some of the motifs, such as the stairs leading to Lazarus' aedicule, or Christ's halo, reach the frame and are cut off by it, and the motifs on the body are rather crowded and there is not much empty background, the distance from the frame and the empty spaces in Canoscio and Grado add elegance to the vessels.

In both casket and plate the elements are arranged around a definite centre and are related to it. The cross dominates both compositions and stands in the middle. The Grado cross almost touches the upper frame line. In Canoscio it does not reach so high, since the upper shaft of the cross is accompanied by the dove and the hand of God, together balancing the four rivers beneath. The lambs in both works flank the cross very closely. In Grado the oval shape lets them stand with their heads at the height of the horizontal arm. In Canoscio, the round shape and the additional motifs above the arm oblige the lambs to be located under it. Still, the similarity between the two cross and lamb motifs is striking. The resemblance is seen also in the way the legs of the lambs touch the ground line and their distance from the shaft of the cross, as well as in the way the cross stands on the hummocky ground line.

The details of the motifs display much similarity. For instance, in both works the four rivers look rather like jellyfish. The pattern of the lambs' coats, even the density of the fleece, is the same. The shape of the gems on the cross, as well as their sequence, is identical, done in delicate punched carving; there is a circle at the meeting point of the arms; the arms are decorated with alternating rhombi, squares, and circles (the arms of the cross from Canoscio are longer, so that the sequence of the gems is prolonged); the small punched dots that form the gems and the four larger dots above the sides of the rhombi resemble each other precisely.

In spite of the general likeness and identical details, the cross, the hill, the lambs, and even the rivers look more convincing in Grado, as if they had more volume. However, it is possible that the Canoscio picture seems more linear since it is engraved and not done in relief as in Grado. The technique is not the same,

[234] An earlier version of the following stylistic comparison appeared in my 'Workshop with Style: Minor Art in the Making', *BZ* 97 (2004), 531–42.

but the similarity of style is striking, suggesting that they could have been made by the same artist, or that they are a product of the same atelier. The Canoscio treasure as a whole is generally dated sixth century, but it is not certain whether this holds for all the pieces. Apart from enlarging our picture of the workshop, the similarity between the plate and the casket does not give us any clue to the casket's place of origin, or reduce the possible time-span.

We turn to the bust medallions for help. Before going on to other works a more detailed account of the Grado *imagines clipeatae* is required in order to define the stylistic elements to be used in the comparison. The medallions are outlined by two concentric circles done in relief (Figs. 93–5). They are a few millimetres apart from each other, and they touch the frame of the inscription above and below. The area between the medallions is empty of ornamentation. This rather austere design is echoed by the inner field of the medallions; there are no added elements. The empty fields or clear areas make for an elegant look that is slightly marred by the crowded inscription above and below. The placing of the bust inside the medallion is a prominent factor in searching for comparative material. The heads of the figures are near the upper edge of the medallion frame, but not close enough to touch it, while the shoulders and chests are structured along the lower circular frame as if the figures were emerging from behind and leaning on it. This effect is particularly convincing in the figure of Cantianilla (Fig. 84), whose draped dress slightly overlaps the frame. Her lips are precisely in the centre of the medallion; the span from the base to the shoulders occupies the same space as the span from the forehead to the top of the frame, each about one third of the field.

The artist gave much thought to the coiffures. They consist of long thick curls, sometimes very stylized, as in the busts of the young saints. The treatment of the hair is similar to the treatment of the folds in the clothing, long chased lines that add light and shade to the repoussé work. This gives the drapery some effect of volume, but the similar approach to face and clothing, together with the consistent height of the relief, makes everything look as if it were made of the same material, therefore limited in depth. In only a few places, such as Cantianilla's dress, the beads of her jewellery, and the noses of the frontal faces, is the relief higher than the medallion surface.

The necks are wide and strong, and support earnest faces. Sometimes, as if contradicting the erect neck, the face is oval and gentle, as in the Christ and the saint to the right of Cantianilla. All the figures have deep, wide open, strictly forward looking, straight noses and closed lips. There is a difference, however, in the modelling of Christ, Peter, and Paul, and the five saints on the other side. The chlamis worn by the local male saints is done in a delicate gradual relief shaped as a fan that starts at the fibula on the right shoulder and spreads out to the left shoulder. The outline of the left shoulder tries to echo the waves of the fan shape.

The cloth of the chlamis meets the neck in a single hard carved line as if it were a garrotting. On the other side of the casket's body, the shoulder outlines reject any sense of folds in the pallium and tunic, and the cloth meets the necks in a wave-like drape. The design of the local saints matches the contemporary style seen in monumental figures in Ravenna, while the Christ, Peter, Paul trio is represented in a similar way on other vessels, especially those made in Rome, which is not surprising since the combination was very popular there.

One such example is a flask in the Museo Sacro, where the body decoration consists of two medallions.[235] They are surrounded by winding foliated acanthus frames with flowers; an inner medallion contains a bust. Both the broad frame and the inner medallion are encircled by thin cords. Peter and Paul (Fig. 96) both barely refrain from touching the inner cord. They are depicted in nimbed full profile, their chests turn a little with the head, making the whole more convincing. If we separate the medallions from the frame they seem close to the design in Grado. The flask is dated to the beginning of the fifth century. To make the stylistic picture clearer let us consider an object that is dated more or less to the Grado casket's *terminus ante quem*, which as mentioned earlier is 568.

Eight medallions decorate the body of the silver casket from Chersones (Fig. 79).[236] The familiar trio of Christ, Peter, and Paul is on one broad side, Mary is between two archangels on the other and there are two saints in the corners. Contrary to Grado, the medallions are circled by a single engraved line and except for the corner ones, each medallion in a trio touches the one on either side, with no gap between them. Here also the lips, except in the Christ, are at the central point of the circle. As in the Vatican flask, the heads are nimbed. However, the halos, again except for Christ, touch the medallion frames. The shoulders are narrower than in the Grado figures, and they are drawn with a strong diagonal line. The necks are also narrower, but the faces, as in Grado, are oval shaped. The cloth of the garments seems heavier than in Grado, and although the contours are thick, they have more volume. The same can be said about the faces. They are more convincing in the later casket, softer, more appealing.

The Grado casket was made sometime between the flask in Rome and the Chersones casket which is dated by control stamps to the later part of the reign of Justinian, most likely after 550. Certain compositional elements are seen in both—due to similarities in the identity as well as in the style of the figures—but the time-span has not yet been narrowed and the origin not determined. To achieve a narrower span and to throw light on the locality, I shall turn to monumental art.

[235] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Museo Sacro, Inv. no. 60858; D. Goffredo, 'Ampolla argentea con i busti di Pietro e Paolo', in Donati (ed.), *Pietro e Paolo*, cat. no. 66. For other examples produced in Rome, see above n. 22 (silver flask) and 201 (silver pitcher).

[236] Catalogue no. 13 and above, n. 197.

The direction suggested by the iconographical inquiry, Ravenna and the shores of the northern Adriatic, is a good point of departure. Although stylistic comparison between a monumental mosaic and a small silver casket is obviously complicated, a careful systematic comparison of one motif, the bust medallion, may serve as a key in the search for a stylistic parallel.

Bust medallions are a common feature in sixth century mosaics all over the Byzantine Empire. They appear in central monuments commissioned by high ranking patrons, such as the Presbyterium in S. Vitale (540–7), the apse mosaic in the church of the monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai (550–65), the apse of Panagia Kankaria in Lythrankomi (first quarter of the century) and the apse mosaic in Poreč (543–53). All of these are dated around the middle of the century. Two earlier works mentioned in our typology search should also be taken into account, the fragmentary mosaic from the Martyrion (S. Maria Mater Domini) in Vicenza, and the mosaic in the Archiepiscopal Palace in Ravenna.

Although fragmentary, enough of the bust medallion of a female saint in the Martyrion in Vicenza has survived to give some notion of bust medallion representations earlier than and outside Ravenna, and to provide an example that is stylistically related to the casket. Seen against a dark brown background, the saint is dressed very like the martyrs in Ravenna; she wears a necklace suspended by two thin strings (Fig. 87). She is nimbed and a veil hangs from her head behind her neck. From the extant fragment we can see that the circle of the medallion was decorated with a triangle pattern, unlike the simple lines in Grado. Yet the breadth of the bordering circle in relation to the inner space of the medallion matches the relation that we noted in the casket. Although the circle and the upper part of the nimbus are not completely legible, an attempt to restore the outlines shows, that the figure's nimbed head did not reach the border line. As in Grado, the mouth is located more or less in the middle of the round surface and the shoulders and breast occupy about one-third of it.

The facial details are comparable. The Vicenza saint has a straight nose and small tight lips. The location of the eyes, as far as they can be seen, in relation to the nose, of the nose in relation to the mouth and of the mouth in relation to the chin, clearly resembles the relationships in the Cantianilla portrait. In addition to the relation between the bust and the medallion, the contours of the bust and the facial details, the garments also appear close. It seems as if the artist played with the tesserae, placing variations of brown and yellow together and avoiding a clear division between them in a way that communicates an illusion of volume.

Whatever the similarity between the monumental saint and Cantianilla of the casket, the mosaic seems softer, less stiff. This impression is created mainly by the graduated colouring of the tesserae and the brownish background, by the veil narrowed behind the neck, not stretched to the shoulders, and also the delicate line of the long neck that curves into the outline of the shoulders instead of being

stiffly inserted into the chest as with Cantianilla. The distance between the necklace and the neck also achieves some fluidity, avoiding the strangulation effect. The Vicenza mosaic is dated to mid fifth century.[237] Before comparing the bust medallions of the casket with later monumental works, it should be pointed out that due to heavy restoration facial details and clothing drapery will not be part of the discussion; the comparison will rather focus mostly on the relation between frame and bust.

Dated to *c.*500, the chapel in the Archiepiscopal Palace in Ravenna was built and decorated by Bishop Peter II, who held office from 494 to 519.[238] The medallions of Eufimia, Eugenia, Cecilia, Daria, Perpetua, and Felicitas, decorating one of the four arches supporting the vault, are enclosed by black, white, red, and gold circles (Fig. 86).[239] The space between frame and bust is coloured blue. The breadth of the frame in relation to the inner field is similar to Vicenza and Grado. The location of the bust within the medallion is also very similar. In the case of Perpetua, for instance, the mouth is in the exact centre of the medallion and the head does not touch the upper frame. The chest and shoulders reach the same height as in the casket, about one third of the medallion field. The proportions of head/shoulders and the articulation with the neck are the same. The martyrs are not nimbed; all but Felicitas wear imperial costume and jewellery and look like ladies of the court. Their necklaces, made mostly of large pearls, fit very closely round the throat, like Cantianilla's. Also like her, all except Felicitas wear veils surrounding the head and falling to the shoulders as a background to the bust, again unlike the saint of the Martyrion, where the veil falls behind the neck. This last fits in with the overall impression made by comparing Cantianilla, Eufimia, and the saint from Vicenza; The earlier figure looks more delicate, softer, more appealing than the other two, who pose stiffly within the contours made by their veils.

As much as can be inferred from this brief, partial comparison, all three undoubtedly belong to the same line of stylistic tradition. The resemblance in the style of the bust medallions of the Grado casket and the chapel mosaic suggests that the two are more or less contemporary, while the mosaic from Vicenza pre-dates them. Later examples from the north Adriatic region, the bust medallions in S. Vitale and the Basilica Eufrasiana, demonstrate how much closer in design to the Capsella in Grado are the bust medallions in the Archiepiscopal chapel.

[237] H. Brandenburg, in Brenk, *Spätantike*, no. 21; the architectural complex is dated to *c.*400. See R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th edn. (New York: Penguin, 1986), 175.

[238] Deichmann, *Ravenna*, 1. 201–6, 2: 1. 198–204; E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making; Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art 3rd–7th Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1977), 64–5.

[239] Deichmann, *Ravenna*, 2: 1. 204, figs. 238–9.

The Christ medallion on the entrance arch of the presbyterium in S. Vitale is flanked by fourteen medallions of apostles and two martyrs, Gervasius and Protasius. The apostles are nimbed, and their names are inscribed inside their medallions (Fig. 89).[240] The medallion frames are proportionally much broader than on the Grado casket. They consist of two circles of alternating squares, silver/white, gold/white and gold/black; the outermost circle is of gold or white pearls. Unlike the frame of the Vicenza medallion, the frames are highly stylized, and catch the beholder's attention. The halos touch the upper frames, the chest and upper arms the lower ones. Thus, the bust actually divides the medallion background into two parts (where the two halves of the name are inscribed). The shoulders reach higher than in Grado and the face is smaller. The proportions of head/chest and the broader frame make the S. Vitale medallions more densely filled and less monumental. The contact of bust and frame detracts from the illusion of volume and from the medallion's space. The figure does not look as if it is standing behind the frame, watching through a window, as in Vicenza, Grado, the Archiepiscopal chapel or even in Lythrankomi,[241] where notwithstanding the nimbus and the inscription inside the medallion, the head is still not obliged to touch the frame, and the illusion of inner space is not lost.

The Basilica Eufrasiana in Poreč was decorated at about the same time as the mosaic in S. Vitale. As in Ravenna, where the bust medallions are placed on the entrance arch leading to the presbyterium, in Poreč as well, the bust medallions are on the inner part of the triumphal arch leading to the apse. The martyrs' medallions are framed by a wide band of gold or white tesserae and a narrower inner circle in black (Fig. 88). As in S. Vitale and unlike the earlier examples, the frame is relatively thick and leaves less room for the bust. Here also the bust reaches the upper frame, dividing the blue background into two parts. The contour of the halo is combined with that of the shoulders, as in S. Vitale, forming a frame for the bust, like the veils in Grado and the chapel. Comparing the nimbed heads with Vicenza, in the earlier work there is a distance between the head and the shoulders, letting the bust breathe, by the insertion of the transparent veil. The heads in Poreč are smaller, and more of the chest is seen than in Vicenza, Grado, or the Archiepiscopal Palace. Adding Iustina of Poreč to our comparative group of Cantianilla, Eufimia, and the saint from Vicenza, it is evident that whatever the similarity in garments and accessories, Iustina continues what we noticed at the turn of the century: the veil is made of thicker material and is combined on one side with the shoulder outline, the necklace fastening is too tight for the throat.

[240] See recently, P. A. Martinelli, (ed.), *The Basilica of S. Vitale*, Mirabilia Italia, 6 (Modena: F. C. Panini, 1997), figs. 592–604.

[241] See above, n. 222.

To sum up, monumental art of the north Adriatic area establishes the geographical and time limits of the casket's style. Particularly, the bust medallions of the Archiepiscopal chapel in Ravenna offer a visual anchor, pinpointing the date to *c.*500. The development of monumental bust medallions matches the development in the portable media. The casket from Chersones has the same bust/medallion relation as in mid-sixth-century mosaics. This correlates with the iconographical study, bringing us back to the turn of the century and the same geographical area. The Grado casket and the Archiepiscopal chapel mosaic provide a minor and a monumental example of pre-Byzantine art. Both document a transition stage in which the 'western' art of the second half of the fifth century was about to be taken over by the Byzantine art of the sixth. In spite of political changes and Ostrogothic patrons in Ravenna, the artistic process was not disturbed. Fifth-century developments, together with the established traditions, are well represented in the casket and the mosaic.[242] Deichmann speaks of two workshops in Ravenna at the beginning of the sixth century, one in the Palace and the other in S. Apollinare Nuovo, that were formed in the fifth century and emerged from its artistic tradition.[243]

Stylistic comparison has thus brought us to the Archiepiscopal Palace in Ravenna and to *c.*500, the place and time defined by the iconographical investigation. The monumental replique in Ravenna to the decoration programme and style of the casket, the place where it was found (Grado), the possible source for models (the cathedral mosaic in Aquileia)—all together suggest that the casket originated in the northern part of the Adriatic, most likely Aquileia, as the martyrs' names would appear to confirm.

[242] Deichmann, *Ravenna*, I. 206. See also Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art*, 65.
[243] Deichmann, *Ravenna*, I. 206.

THREE

Decoration Programmes in Context

Two of the caskets discussed here, the Capsella Africana and the casket from Grado, possibly also the Capsella Brivio, were discovered in churches, and we may add the caskets cited as comparative material, one found in the church of S. Nazaro,[1] the other in the cathedral of Pula.[2] In addition, the Africana and the casket from Grado are decorated with images of martyrs rather than of the apostles; the latter is also inscribed with the martyrs' names, and so it seems safe to assume that these caskets were intended to be reliquaries. However, the fact of having been found in a church is not sufficient in itself to determine the function of relic container. What about those caskets discovered outside the 'correct' liturgical context, as for instance the Nea Herakleia? Clearly not all known silver caskets decorated with Christian figurative themes were made to treasure relics. Perhaps originally intended to contain something else, perhaps holy bread or incense, some of them could have been reused as reliquaries. Further, assuming a connection between the decoration themes and the function of the objects, we may ask why some of the caskets are decorated with biblical scenes while others carry only symbolic decoration, or why some of the caskets are decorated with martyrs' images while on others such images are absent. We may also question the shape of the caskets. Why are some of them polygonal and others oval? In other words, if these caskets were produced for a similar purpose, why do the decoration and shape differ, as the detailed treatments in the foregoing discussions have shown? Some broader observations follow, intended to provide the means to identify and define the common ground of the decoration programmes and to confirm that the caskets discussed here relate to each other and to other caskets not specifically investigated. It will then become possible to seek the connections between reliquaries as a medium, and the cult of relics.

[1] Especially in dealing with the casket from Nea Herakleia I refer to the casket from S. Nazaro, discussing decoration programme and style. Indeed, it is a natural part of the group, which has not received a chapter here only because it was treated most comprehensively in a monograph dissertation: V. Alborino, *Das Silberkästchen von San Nazaro in Mailand*, Habelts Dissertationsdrucke Reihe klassische Archäologie, 13 (Bonn: Habelt, 1981).

[2] See the beginning of Ch. 2 and Catalogue no. 8.

A. DECORATION PROGRAMMES AND FUNCTION

The two earliest caskets, from Nea Herakleia and from S. Nazaro in Milan, are both cube-like, decorated mainly with biblical scenes designed in the same generally named Theodosianic style, and more or less contemporary.[3] The differences of provenance together with certain general similarities make this subgroup a good point of departure. The decoration programme of the casket from S. Nazaro comprises two Epiphany scenes, the Maiestas Domini on the lid, and the Adoration of the Magi on the front, two judgement scenes, Daniel and Solomon, and one salvation image, of the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace.[4] Four out of the five compositions are rendered in a representative manner, the centre being occupied by an enthroned figure. The lid and front of the Nea Herakleia casket also carry Epiphanies: the Christogram with the apocalyptic letters on the lid, and below it a *Traditio legis* where Peter and Paul acclaim the resurrected Christ. There are salvation images as well, Daniel in the Lions' Den and the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace. In addition, there is a local Roman aspect to the programme, the *Traditio legis* on the front and Moses Receiving the Law on the side panel, emphasizing through the location of the *Traditio* scene and the identical design of Peter and the supplanted Moses, the superiority of Peter and the Roman See, as well as the status of Peter and Paul, the local Roman martyrs, as intercessors at the end of days.

Next in chronological order is the Capsella Brivio. This casket is oval in shape, smaller than the Nea Herkleia and much smaller than the Milan. It too is decorated mainly with biblical narrative scenes, one composition on each side and one on the lid. Two of the scenes appeared on the earlier caskets. Their location resembles that in the preceding instances, the Adoration of the Magi on the front, as in S. Nazaro, and the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace on the back, as in Nea Herakleia. The lid carries the salvation image of the Raising of Lazarus, which also implies Christ's Resurrection. The implication is enhanced by the position of Lazarus' sister, possibly identifiable also as Mary Magdalen, suggesting that *Noli me tangere* is represented on the lid as well. The Resurrection theme on the lid, the Epiphany on the front and the salvation on the back are held together by the insertion of two city gates, most likely representing Jerusalem and Bethlehem, on the rounded ends of the Brivio's body. These cities, which occur only in eschatological compositions, take us to the final reading level of the programme, which points clearly to the fulfilment of the promise made by the first Epiphany and by the Resurrection, namely Christ's Second Advent. The fulfilment of the promise of the second coming is contained in the salvation scene

[3] For a comparison between the two caskets see Ch. 1 §A.

[4] For the identification of the scenes see Alborino, *Das Silberkästchen*, 32–100.

on the back, and if any doubt remains concerning the programme's purpose and the common ground of its representations, the two cities confirm the reference to the future.

The decoration programmes of the three early caskets, dated between the last two decades of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth, contain biblical narrative scenes emphasizing, through the choice of subjects, layout and details, the narrative of salvation history, with reference to the Parousia. At the same time, the programmes respond to the special regional priorities and requirements of the casket's patrons. This is best seen in the Roman influence on the casket from Nea Herakleia, but it is possible that the programme of the S. Nazaro casket correlates with the theological notions of Ambrose of Milan,[5] and that Brivio represents the North Italian–Gallic taste for conflations of scenes and the contemporary confusion concerning the identity of Lazarus' sisters, reflected in the writings of Ambrose.[6] This attitude to decoration, composed of two tendencies, one general, the other local, is found also in the following two caskets, expressed by different means.

The Capsella Africana is possibly the first casket to show a martyr other than Peter and Paul. It is also among the first not to depict any biblical scenes, but only symbolic elements based on the Bible, in order to represent salvation history. On one side of the body, the Lamb of God guides the righteous or the apostles to the springs of the water of life depicted under the Christogram on the other side and under the martyr's feet on the lid. The martyr is no mere victim but the intercessor for the local, possibly Campanian and/or North African, community, standing like Christ on the four rivers and crowned by God. The whole decoration programme of the oval casket directs the attention of the viewer to the promised return of Christ. To achieve his aim, the artist recruits the two cities on the rounded ends of the body, representing an eschatological topography, and also two monumental candlesticks promising the cycle of time.

The next casket in order of chronology not only presents a group of local martyrs, but gives their names and the names of the casket's patrons. The local Aquileian martyrs are portrayed in bust medallions on one side of the oval casket from Grado; Christ and the princely apostles decorate the other side. There are no biblical scenes. The main element on the lid is a *crux gemmata* standing on the hill with four rivers and flanked by two lambs. The location of the ornamented cross in the middle of the concave lid, at the centre of the decoration programme, emphasizes its role as key image. The cross may mark the sacrifice of Christ on earth and at the same time, through its identification as the *praecursor*, symbolize his future victorious return. Here again there is a combination of local Aquileian martyrs and the salvation—suggested by the cross—that is promised by their

[5] Ibid. 101–7. [6] See Chapter 1 §B.

intercession. Again, the general salvation idea is combined with the priorities of the local patrons.

The five silver caskets discussed in the previous chapters, including the casket from S. Nazaro, were produced in different art centres over a period of a hundred and twenty years. The differences in style and decoration programmes are an outcome of the span of time and the separate localities, and are a reflection of contemporary taste.[7] Three of them were formed in the same shape and more or less the same size, and above all, the scenes and/or symbols juxtaposed in their decoration allude to the promised fulfilment of salvation, according to the respective regional priorities and requirements.[8] This common purpose of the decoration programmes speaks in favour of assuming their common function as reliquaries.

At this point we should consider whether the combination of local priorities and hope for the fulfilment of Christ's Second Advent is seen also on other silver caskets decorated with Christian themes and assumed to be reliquaries. Should this be the criterion for determining if the objects were intended in the first place as containers of relics? Let us look briefly at those not so far included in our discussion or only mentioned in comparison.

The hexagonal casket in Vienna was discovered near a cistern located on the south side of the cathedral of Pula (Catalogue no. 8). It was buried inside a marble case together with an additional casket made of gold, a small gold cross and a brandeum.[9] Prima facie, the place and context of the find imply the reliquary function. However, the shape and decoration of the hexagonal casket are unusual and may cause doubt concerning its purpose. The lid is decorated with six busts in relief, one in each field: Christ in the centre flanked by Peter, Paul, and possibly Hermagoras, Mark, and Fortunatus (Fig. 43).[10] The last three

[7] E. Kitzinger in *Byzantine Art in the Making; Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art 3rd–7th Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1977), perhaps overemphasizes the linear stylistic development of the period. However, study of the group of silver caskets together with groups of works in other media shows that it is possible to discern evolving stylistic tendencies. On this see also H. Brandenburg, 'Stilprobleme der frühchristlichen Sarkophagkunst Roms in 4. Jahrhundert: Volkskunst, Klassizismus, spätantiker Stil', *Römischen Mitteilungen*, 86 (1979), 439–71; id., 'Ars Humilis: Zur Frage eines christlichen Stils in der Kunst des 4. Jahrhunderts nach Christus', *JbAC* 24 (1981), 71–84; and the introduction to *Rep. II* by J. Dresken-Weiland, with further bibliography.

[8] Cf. Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society*, who writes that in most cases the reliquaries should not be seen as 'isolated examples of purely iconographic interest' (p. 101); 'the corresponding function of the silver caskets is by no means so clearly indicated' (p. 102); 'a highly specific iconography does not develop as it does for the pilgrim ampullae' (p. 107).

[9] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung, Inv. VII 760. H. Swoboda, 'Frühchristliche Reliquiarien des K. K. Münz- und Antiken- Cabinetes', *Mitt. der K. K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der kunst- und historischen Denkmale*, NS 16 (1890), 1–22, and Buschhausen, cat. no. B20. For the gold casket see Swoboda, 'Frühchristliche Reliquiarien', 18–22 and Buschhausen, pl. 57.

[10] Swoboda, 'Frühchristliche Reliquiarien,' 15.

are local martyr-saints of the Pula–Aquileia region. The body carries the same sequence of personages as full length figures. The highly unusual duplicate arrangement of the figures may indicate that the casket was made to be held in the hand so that the person who held it could also see it when looking down, which could have been appropriate for a container of incense.[11] However, if the identification is correct, the inclusion of local martyrs relevant to the region where the casket was found may speak in favour of an original function as reliquary, decorated with figures of the domestic intercessors.

Two octagonal caskets with pyramid shaped lids belong to the presumed group of reliquaries. One was found in a room that perhaps served as a memorial crypt in Novalja (Catalogue no. 3)[12] and the other in the Royal Necropolis of Nubia (Catalogue no. 4).[13] The lids of both caskets are decorated with embossed floral candelabras while the body of the casket from Novalja is decorated with Christ enthroned, flanked by seven apostles, one on each panel of the octagon. Peter and Paul are closest to Christ. The body of the Nubian casket is so fragmentary that only Christ is recognizable; the other five barely legible figures were most likely apostles. The decoration and shape of these caskets could have suited other liturgical vessels, although the function as containers of relics can not be excluded.

The question of original function is a subject of scholarly debate concerning the rectangular caskets from Yabulkovo and Çirga. The former, dated to *c*.400 is preserved in Sofia. It is a tiny rectangular casket decorated with relief work on all sides (Catalogue no. 5).[14] A large gemmed cross is depicted on the flat lid; the word OMONIA (Concordance) is inscribed above its horizontal arms. Below the arms, two busts in profile, a man and a woman, appear on either side of the cross shaft. The front of the casket is decorated with Christ enthroned between Peter and Paul. Seven additional apostles stride towards Christ from the back and lateral panels, their Greek names inscribed. The couple beside the gemmed cross on the lid of the Sofia casket reappears on both lateral sides of the Çirga, today in Adana,

[11] I would like to thank the anonymous reader for this idea.

[12] Zadar, Croatia, Archaeological Museum. B. Ilakovac, 'Unbekannte Funde aus Novalja (Jugoslawien)', in *Atti del IX Congresso internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana Roma 21–27.9.1975,* II (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Areologia Cristiana, 1978), 333–40, fig. 4; Alborino, *Das Silberkästchen*, fig. 23; L. Török, 'An Early Christian Silver Reliquary from Nubia', in O. Feld and U. Peschlow (eds.), *Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst F. W. Deichmann Gewidmet* (Bonn: Habelt, 1986), 3. 59–65, pl. 16, fig. 3.

[13] Cairo, Archaeological Museum (?). E. W. Emery and L. P. Kirwan, *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul* (Cairo: Government press, 1938), 1. 279, fig. 79 and vol. 2, pl. 38; Török, 'An Early Christian Silver Reliquary from Nubia', 59–65, pl. 16, figs. 1,2.

[14] Sofia, National Museum of History, Inv. no. 2519. The casket measures 4.5 × 3 × 2.9 cm. A. Grabar, 'Un Reliquaire provenant de Therace', *CA* 14 (1964), 59–65; Buschhausen, cat. no. B3; A. Minchev, *Early Christian Reliquaries from Bulgaria (4th–6th century AD)* (Varna: Izdatelska kûshta 'Stalker', 2003), cat. no. 25.

dated to the middle of the fifth century (Catalogue no. 10).[15] However, the rest of the embossed decoration differs. In the centre of the concave lid a Christogram and the Lamb of God, one above the other, are flanked by Peter and Paul. The lids frame is composed of various animals and flowers. Both side panels of the gabled lid are decorated with the Lamb of God. The body front shows a medallion containing Christ enthroned accompanied by two rectangular frames surrounding depictions of saints; their names are inscribed, Konon on the right and Thekla on the left.[16] The back of the body shows a similar composition. The medallion in the centre contains a cross and the Lamb of God between Peter and Paul. The two rectangular frames contain female saints in orant pose.

It is the interpretation of the panels with the man and woman flanking the gemmed cross that poses the question of function. Identification of the figures as Constantine and Helena suggests the possibility that the caskets contained relics of the true cross.[17] Not necessarily discounting the reliquary function, the pair has also been described as a private donor pair.[18] However, the interpretation of the man and woman on both caskets as a married couple is more convincing, suggesting that the caskets could have been made for a private household.[19]

An oval silver lid of a casket was found recently in Bulgaria near the village of Archar (district of Vidin), in the necropolis of the ancient town Rotiaria (Catalogue no. 6).[20] The flat lid is decorated with a rectangular frame in relief which divides it more or less in the middle. One part shows two figures, possibly of saints, while the other presents Mary enthroned with the Christ child on her lap and an angel striding towards them. The decoration and shape of the lid do not necessarily indicate the function of the casket.

The question of original intention for the caskets shaped as pocket-size sarcophagi does not seem to require much discussion. The large number of sarcophagus-like containers, made of different materials, suggests that this was the most popular design for reliquaries.[21] The possible theological reason for the

[15] Adana, Archaeological Museum. The casket measures 9.8 × 4 × 4.8 cm. Buschhausen, Cat. no. B4; E. Dinkler von Schubert's review of Buschhausen's Catalogue in *JbAC* 20 (1977), 215–23, esp. 221; G. Vikan, 'Art and Marriage in Early Byzantium', *DOP* 44 (1990), 149–50.

[16] An almost identical representation of Thekla is seen on a votive plaque in Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Inv. 66/155b. L. Wamser (ed.), *Die Welt von Byzanz—Europas Östliches Erbe*, Austellung Katalog Archäologische Staatssamlung München, 21. Oktober 2004–3. April 2005 (Munich, 2004), cat. no. 189.

[17] First suggested by Grabar, 'Un Reliquaire provenant de Therace', 59–65 and most recently by Minchev, *Early Christian Reliquaries*, cat. no. 25.

[18] Buschhausen, 186–8, 204–6.

[19] Dinkler von Schubert's review of Buschhausen's Catalogue, esp. 219; Vikan, 'Art and Marriage', 149–50.

[20] Minchev, *Early Christian Reliquaries*, cat. no. 28.

[21] See e.g. Buschhausen, cat. nos., C1; C19; C21; C22; C23; C25; C29; C30; C32; C33; and recently, L. Wamser and G. Zahlhaas (eds.), *Rom und Byzanz archäologische Kostbarkeiten aus Bayern: Katalog zur Ausstellung der Prähistorischen Staatssammlung München, 20. Okt. 1998 bis 14. Febr. 1999* (Munich: Hirmer,

preference shown for this shape may be connected to the belief, dealt with in the following section, that the relics of the martyrs actually represent their whole corpse. One figurative decorated silver casket shaped as a tiny sarcophagus is in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich, dated to the fifth or sixth century.[22] Each panel presents a cross accompanied by twin images: the broad sides have a large Latin cross between two orant figures, usually identified as saints; above them, on each longer side of the lid, is a cross between two birds. Each shorter side has a Latin cross flanked by the same type of birds, and above them, on the lid, two crosses between circles. The reappearance of the group composed of a cross between two similar motifs indicates its importance. These compositions of adoration imply the meaning of the victorious precursor cross.

Most of the reliquaries shaped as sarcophagi do not carry elaborate salvation cycles but are decorated, if at all, mainly with a cross or crosses. An exception is the silver casket excavated in a church at the ancient city of Chersones in the Crimea (Fig. 79).[23] Its lid is indeed decorated with crosses but the body is adorned with eight bust medallions, three on each broad and one on each narrow side. One broad side shows Mary flanked by archangels, the other the busts of Christ, Peter, and Paul. Each lateral side shows a youthful portrait of possibly an apostle. The casket is dated by Byzantine control stamps to the time of Justinian I, most likely after 550.[24] A similar group of Mary and archangels in medallions is seen on a silver cross in Istanbul dated by control stamps to *c*.547.[25] The cross bears a similar type of Christ's bust. Having been found in a church, together with the sarcophagus shape, suggest that this eastern-made casket was designed to contain relics, although the decoration programme may imply relics of the true cross rather than of martyrs.

Together with the oval casket discovered under the presbyterium floor of the Cathedral of S. Eufemia Cathedral in Grado, a silver pyxis was found, dated to

1998), cat. nos. 13, 14, 15; Y. Israeli and D. Mevorah (eds.), *Cradle of Christianity* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 2000), 77, fig. on p. 76. Beside the casket, the word *arcula* used by Paulinus of Nola (cited at the beginning of this book) can be understood as a small stone coffin. See *TLL* 2. 475. 5–11.

22 Catalogue no. 12; Buschhausen, cat. no. B5 and most recently L. Wamser (ed.), *Die Welt von Byzanz—Europa östliches Erbe, Glanz, Krisen und Fortleben einer tausendjährigen Kultur; Archäologische Staatssammlung München—Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte München, Begleitbuch zur Ausstellung vom 22.10.2004 bis 3.4.2005* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2004), 188, cat. no. 249.

23 Catalogue no. 13 and Section 2B. Buschhausen, Cat. no. B21; A. Effenberger et al., *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Silbergefässe aus der Staatlichen Ermitage Leningrad* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1978), cat. no. 8.

24 Cruikshank Dodd, E., *Byzantine Silver Stamps*, DOS 7 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1961), Cat. no. 17.

25 M. Mundell-Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium. The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures* (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1986), cat. no. 76; E. Cruikshank Dodd, 'Three Early Byzantine Silver Crosses', *DOP* 41 (1987), 165–76, figs. 1, 3, 4.

the sixth–seventh centuries.[26] The lid of the round pyxis is decorated with an embossed and engraved leaf pattern medallion enclosing an enthroned figure of Mary. She holds a cross sceptre, her head is encircled by a cruciform halo and the Christ child sits on her lap. This would not be sufficient for defining the round container's function as a reliquary, were it not that the body carries a two-line engraved inscription of saints' and martyrs' names, leaving hardly any doubt in the matter: SANC[TA] MARIA SANC[TVS] VITVS SANC[TVS] CASS[I]ANVS SANC[TVS] PANCRATIVS SANC[TVS] YPOLITVS SANC[TVS] APOLLINARIS SANC[TVS] MARTINVS.

The two examples concluding the list of early Christian silver caskets are both oval in shape and dated by control stamps to the time of the emperor Heraclius (610–641). One, the so-called Capsella Vaticana, was found in the Sancta Sanctorum chapel in the Lateran (Fig. 80).[27] It is an oval casket with an embossed and engraved decoration on both lid and body. The lid has a large *crux gemmata* adored by two angels in acclamation pose. Above the horizontal arms of the cross are the Hand of God and a dove holding a wreath in its beak. The body is decorated with seven bust medallions. The central medallion on the back represents Christ; the others are probably apostles. The second Heraclian casket is in a Swiss private collection.[28] Its lid is also decorated with a large cross, but four bust medallions of male figures holding books are placed between the arms. The body has eight bust medallions. All these personages hold books apart from the two in the central medallion of each broad side, who hold a cross. Perhaps the busts represent the twelve apostles. The design, centred on the motif of the cross, suggests that the two Byzantine caskets could have been made to contain the relics of the true cross which was retaken from the Persians by Heraclius in 629/630.[29]

[26] Catalogue no. 14. Buschhausen, cat. no. B19, and recently L. Crusvar, 'Capsella cilindrica per reliquie', in S. Tavano and G. Bergamini (eds.), *Patriarchi; Quindici secoli di civilta' fra l'Adriatico e l'Europa centrale* (Milan: Skira, 2000), 105, no. VII.3.

[27] Catalogue no. 15. Buschhausen, cat. no. B16. Cruikshank Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps*, cat. no. 47. Recently, A. Effenberger, 'Ovale Pyxis, sog. Capsella Vaticana', in C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff (eds.), *799; Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III. In Paderborn; Katalog der Ausstellung Paderborn 1999* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1999), 2. 648; R. E. Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society in Late Antiquity; Function and Meanings of Silver Plate in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004),101–2, figs. 2.24, 2.25

[28] Catalogue no. 16. H. Beck and P. C. Bol (eds.), *Spätantike und frühes Christentum*, *Ausstellung im Liebieghaus Museum alter Plastik Frankfurt a. Main, 16.12.1983–11.3.1984* (Frankfurt a. Main: Liebieghaus, 1983), cat. no. 171.

[29] I plan to study the decoration of these caskets in relation to this historical event in the future. For Heraclius bringing back the relics of the Holy Cross, see the poem written by George of Pisidia, *In restitutionem S. Crucis*, in A. Pertusi (ed.), *Giorgio di Pisidia. Poemi I. Panegirici epici*, Studia Patristica et Byzantina, 7 (Ettal: Buch-Kunstverlag Ettal, 1959), 225–30, 235–9; A. Sommerlechner, 'Kaiser Herakleios und die Rückkehr des heiligen Kreuzes nach Jerusalem. Überlegungen zu Stoff-und Motivgeschichte', *Römische historische Mitteilungen*, 45 (2003), 319–60; A. Frolow, 'La Vraie Croix et les expéditions d'Héraclius en Perse', *REB* 11 (1953), 88–105; W. E. Kaegi, *Heraclius: Emperor of Byzantium* (Cambridge:

To sum up, the caskets briefly described above, shaped like sarcophagi or inscribed with martyrs' names were most likely intended to contain relics. The caskets from Yabulkovo and Çirga were probably made for private use, not necessarily as reliquaries, although the latter presents images of Thekla and Konon, both venerated in Isauria.[30] Similarly, the content of the caskets from Novalja and Nubia could have been sacred or secular. The Byzantine caskets do not seem to indicate local iconography, but rather emphasize the cross foretelling the Second Advent. A possible explanation may be their supposed holding of a relic of the true cross, which was an intercessor for all Christian communities. It seems safe to assume, then, that like S. Nazaro, Nea Herakleia, Brivio, Capsella Africana, and the oval casket in Grado, the sarcophagus-shaped caskets and the inscribed pyxis in Grado were originally intended to treasure relics.

At this point in our discussion we should be able to approach other containers, of limited decoration or even non-figurative compositions. One example is the cross decorating a wooden casket in Algiers (Fig. 97). Only fragmentarily preserved, it was found at Aïun Berich not far from Aïn Beda, together with two sarcophagi, a stone reliquary, and a *fenestella confessionis*, a context that may support the argument for its function as a reliquary. The largest of the wooden fragments is decorated with a monumental *crux gemmata* that has a scarf draped over the horizontal arms,[31] representing the purple scarf known from images of the Tropaion as for instance in imperial *adventus* ceremonies.[32] A famous early sixth-century example of the inclusion of the purple scarf in a Christian context is the representation in the dome mosaic of the Arian Baptistery in Ravenna, where the scarf rests on the arms of a jewelled cross that stands on the hetoimasie, acclaimed by a procession of apostles.[33] This combination, as well as the imperial predecessors, brings to mind similar ceremonies welcoming the advent of relics at their new place of deposition. In a sermon written for such an occasion by Victricius, Bishop of Rouen, the relics are named

Cambridge University Press, 2003), 201–7; A. N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, vol. 1: *602–634* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1968), 252–5; For the conflicting reports of the sources, whether Heraclius brought back the relics to Jerusalem in 629 or 630, see V. Grumel, 'La reposition de la Vraie Croix par Héraclius à Jérusalem; le jour et l'année', in P. Wirth (ed.), *Polychordia. Festschrift für Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag*, Byzantinische Forschungen, 1 (Amsterdam: 1967), 139–49.

[30] Buschhausen, 197.

[31] J. Baradez and M. Leglay, 'La croix-trophée et le reliquiaire d'Aïoun-Berich', *CA* 9 (1957), 73–88; Buschhausen, C72; J. Engemann, 'Zu den Apsis-Tituli des Paulinus von Nola', *JbAC* 17 (1974), 24–5, pl. 5e

[32] For the tropaion, see E. Dinkler, 'Bemerkungen zum Kreuz als Tropeaion', in *Mullus. Festschrift für Theodor Klauser*, JbAC Suppl. 1 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1964), 71–8; id., 'Das Kreuz als Siegeszeichen', *ZfTK* 62 (1965), 1–20; E. Dinkler von Schubert, s.v. 'Tropaion', *LCI* 4 (1972), 361–3.

[33] F. W. Deichmann, *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, vol. 1: *Geschichte und Monumente* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1969), pls. 251, 256; Engemann, 'Zu den Apsis-Tituli', 24–5.

'trophies' and described as being welcomed by the nobility, the clergy, ascetics, and the people as a whole.[34] The cross on the wooden Stéphane Gsell casket can thus be understood as foretelling Christ's Second Advent.

The eschatological theme shared by the wooden and silver caskets may help to throw light on the intentions of the non-figurative decoration of caskets as well. In discussing the Christogram and the Alpha and Omega on the lid of the casket from Nea Herakleia, four other caskets, in Sofia (Fig. 12), Baltimore, Rimini, and Paspels (Fig. 2), decorated with ornamental patterns and Christograms, or with a Christogram or cross with an Alpha and Omega, were adduced.[35] On these caskets, all of which were found in churches,[36] the Christogram or the cross, with or without the apocalyptic letters, is emphasized by visual means above the rest of the decoration programme. It is placed in the centre of the composition, or done in a different technique, or located on the lid, recalling similar manifestations in monumental art, where the Christogram or cross is decorated with gems, placed at the centre of an acclamation group, or seen in a celestial landscape. It is suggested here that in the portable objects, as in monumental art, the cross, besides commemorating the sacrifice of Christ and his triumph over death, can also symbolize his promised return—the significance of which was evidently so familiar that accentuating the cross by placing it on the lid, or on the front, or using a special pattern to decorate it, was sufficient to convey its various meanings. However, it is not altogether sufficient for determining the function of these small boxes, and the possibility that they might have been intended for other liturgical uses such as containers of consecrated bread or incense, cannot be entirely excluded.[37]

B. RELIQUARIES AND THE CULT OF RELICS

We may now go on to investigate the historical, social, and theological contexts of our group of decorated caskets. What caused the production of these precious metal objects in the 380s? There is plenty of historical evidence to explain the contemporary need for caskets to contain relics and some of this will be presented. An attempt will then be made to find a connection between such testimonies and the decoration programmes on the objects.

[34] G. Clark, 'Victricius of Rouen: Praising the Saints', *JECS* 7/3 (1999), 365–99, esp. 368. I discuss the welcome ceremonies below.

[35] See Ch. 1 §A.

[36] Except for the casket in Baltimore, although it may have been part of the Hama treasure. See Mundell-Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium*, cat. no. 17.

[37] J. Duffy and G. Vikan, 'A Small Box in John Mochus', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, 24/1 (1983), 93–9, esp. 97–8; Mundell-Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium*, 117.

The earlier silver casket reliquaries are contemporary with some of the earliest textual references to the translation of relics in the western part of the empire. The first recorded translations, however, took place in the east, of St Babylas in 351–4, from Antioch to the suburb of Daphne, where a martyrium was built in his honour,[38] and of Timothy (the disciple of St Paul), Andrew and Luke, whose relics were brought to Constantinople in 356 and 357.[39] The latter translation became known throughout the empire, as Paulinus of Nola and Jerome attest.[40] Paulinus compares the *translatio* to Constantinople with one of the early translations known in the west, undertaken by Ambrose of Milan,[41] concerning whom there is no doubt that his involvement in the cult of relics represents the very early activity in the matter and also the institutionalization of the custom in the western church. Already in 386 Ambrose dedicated the Basilica Apostolorum (S. Nazaro) in the cemetery outside the city walls, before the Porta Romana, with relics of St Andrew, St Thomas, and St John the Evangelist, brought to Milan from elsewhere.[42] These relics were very probably treasured in the silver casket from S. Nazaro.[43] Soon afterwards, as he writes in a letter to his sister Marcellina, Ambrose was asked by the local congregation to consecrate the new basilica he built in the *coemeterium ad martyres*, not far from Porta Vercelliana, with relics. Ambrose's answer was *faciam si martyrum reliquias invenero*,[44] and indeed, in the shrine of SS. Felix and Nabor he found relics of two Milanese martyrs, Protasius and Gervasius. After two days, the relics were unearthed and translated in procession accompanied by the singing of psalms to the new church, the Basilica Ambrosiana (also known as Basilica Martyrum), where he placed them beneath the altar.[45]

[38] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl*. 5. 39. 43; H. Delehaye, *Les Origines du culte des martyrs*, Subsidia Hagiographica, 20 (Brussels: Société des bollandistes, 1933), 54; B. Kötting, *Der frühchristliche Reliquienkult und die Bestattung im Kirchengebäude*, Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 123 (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1965), 17; C. Mango, 'Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics', *BZ* 83 (1990), 51–61, esp. 52.

[39] Kötting, *Der frühchristliche Reliquien Kult*, 18; Mango, 'Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics'; the date of this translation might be as early as 336. See C. Mango, 'Constantine's Mausoleum: Addendum', *BZ* 83 (1990), 434.

[40] Paulinus' *Carmen* 19. 317 ff.; Jerome, *Contra Vigilantium* 5, *PL* 23. 343.

[41] *Carmen* 19. 317 ff. For Eng. trans. see Mango, 'Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics', 53.

[42] N. B. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan; Church and Court in a Christian Capital*, Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 22 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 230.

[43] Alborino, *Das Silberkästchen*, 163. For the discovery of the casket see Alborino, 5–9.

[44] *Ep*. 22. 1

[45] *Ep*. 22. 1–2 *CSEL* 82. 3. 127–8; E. Dassmann, 'Ambrosius und die Märtyrer', *JbAC* 18 (1975), 53; McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, 211; see also H. Brandenburg, 'Altar und Grab. Zu einem Problem des Märtyrerkultes im 4. und 5. Jh.', in M. Lamberigts and P. Van Deun (eds.), *Martyrium in Multidisciplinary Perspective, Memorial Louis Reekmans* (Leuven: University Press, 1995), 83–4; R. A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 143; cf. R. Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 79–80.

The information provided by the account of the translation of these relics is largely relevant to the silver caskets. Besides the correlation between the dates of the textual evidence concerning the early translation of relics into western churches and the dating of the earliest silver caskets, it seems reasonable to associate the spots where several of the caskets were placed within the churches with the first-hand dated testimony from Milan of depositing the relics under the altar. This location incorporates the martyrs' cult into the church outside the city walls, and into the sacramental and liturgical practice performed within the church's public space.[46] The relics of the martyrs' sacrifice were placed under the altar on which Christ's sacrifice is celebrated, a parallel that is reflected in the decoration programmes of the Capsella Africana and the casket from Grado.[47] Further, from the *inventio* of Gervasius and Protasius one can understand the wish of Ambrose and his flock to be 'the descendants, not of martyrs in general, but of their own martyrs. The relics of the Apostles did not satisfy this desire for their special, local patrons; the ancient distinction of their church required possession of relics of the Milanese church's "own suffering". The anomaly of a great church without martyrs of its own was dissolved by this public "resurrection of the martyrs".'[48] In the same letter to Marcellina, Ambrose is the first to use the word patron to describe the martyr in this context. So also do Paulinus of Nola, when describing the role of the saint in the community, and the Spanish poet, Prudentius, his contemporary.[49] The rise of the cult of the local martyrs within the church and its relevance to the local community may explain the images of the local martyrs on the caskets, such as Peter and Paul in Nea Herakleia, possibly Januarius on the Capsella Africana and the three *Canziani*, Quirinus, and Latinus on the Grado casket.

But there is another relevant detail in the narrative of the *translatio* to the Basilica Ambrosiana, which may throw light on the task of the reliquaries and consequently on their decoration at the time. Next to the relics, beneath the altar, Ambrose prepared his own burial place as he himself says, rather apologetically:

[46] Kötting, *Der frühchristliche Reliquienkult*, 22–3; Dassmann, 'Ambrosius und die Märtyrer', 54–5; and recently Brandenburg, 'Altar und Grab', 87–98.

[47] Augustine elaborates on the association of the altar with the martyr, using the example of *mensa Cypriani*, located outside the city walls of Carthage. See F. Van der Meer, *Augustine the Bishop* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1961), 489, and also Brandenburg, 'Altar und Grab', 76.

[48] Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, 144. The 'resurrection of the martyrs' is quoted from Ambrose, *Ep*. 22. 9.

[49] Ambrose *Ep*. 22. 10 (*CSEL* 82. 3. 132. 101 *patrocinia*), and 11 (133. 119–20 *patroni*); For a record of the use of the word patron in the *Natalicia* of Paulinus see M. Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs: The Liber Peristephanon of Prudentius* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 21 n. 33. For the social meaning of this terminology in the context of the cult of relics see there p. 25.

For it is fitting that the bishop should rest where he had been used to offer sacrifice; but, I yield the . . . position to the sacred victims . . . He who suffered for all shall be upon the altar, those redeemed by His passion beneath it.[50]

In other words, not only was Ambrose involved in transferring the traditional cult of martyrs from tombs and shrines into the inner space of the cemetery church, he also introduces his wish to be buried *ad sanctos*. By this act he declared his belief that the relics not only represent the martyrs but *are* the martyrs; thus, touched by the quality of resurrection, they are the protectors and intercessors of the neighbouring deceased on the Day of Judgement.[51] No wonder then, that when Ambrose buried his brother Satyrus in the chapel of S. Vittore in Ciel d'Oro (Basilica Ambrosiana), he placed the body next to the relics of St Victor in the crypt, beneath the altar.[52]

The association of Ambrose with the demand for reliquaries does not end in Milan. Ambrose did not only take care of his own congregation. He distributed relics to other churches in the west, at a time when disinterring relics and translating them was forbidden by two imperial rulings issued at Constantinople.[53] Among others, recipients included Paulinus of Nola, Gaudentius of Brescia, Victricius of Rouen, and possibly Martin at Tours.[54] The testimonies

[50] Ambrose, *Ep*. 22. 1. 13: *Sed ille super altare, qui pro omnibus passus est. Isti sub altari, qui illius redempti sunt passione. Hunc ego locum praedestinaveram mihi; dignum est enim ut ibi requiescat sacerdos, ubi offere consuevit: sed cedo sacris victimis dexteram portionem* (*PL* 16, col. 1023). The translation is from Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, 145, who changed the order of the sentences; Ambrose's intentions are discussed by Dassman, 'Ambrosius und die Märtyrer', 55–7, and Brandenburg, 'Altar und Grab', 84–5; cf. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, 209.

[51] T. Baumeister, s.v. 'Heiligenverehrung I', *RAC* 14 (1988), 131–2. Victricius of Rouen describe the relics as 'first fruits of resurrection'. See below n. 86.

[52] Ambrose, *De Excessu Fratris sui Satyri* (*PL* 16, cols. 1289–354), trans. H. de Romestein, *On the Decease of his Brother Satyrus*, Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, 10 (Oxford, 1896), after G. Mackie, 'Symbolism and Purpose in an Early Christian Martyr Chapel: the Case of San Vittore in Ciel d'Oro, Milan', *Gesta*, 34/2 (1995), 91–101, n. 2. The burial next to the martyr's relics was confirmed by an archaeological find in the chapel in 1922. For details and bibliography see Mackie, 'Symbolism and Purpose', 98–9. For the development of *ad sanctos* burial see Kötting, *Der frühchristliche Reliquienkult*, 24–31.

[53] For the legislation on relics reissued by Theodosius I in 386, *CTh* 9. 17. 7–8 see Kötting, *Der frühchristliche Reliquienkult*, 21; Dassman, 'Ambrosius und die Märtyrer', 57; Mango, 'Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics', 51; See also recently, G. Clark, 'Translating Relics: Victricius of Rouen and Fourth-Century Debate', *Early Medieval Europe*, 10/2 (2001), 161–76. For Ambrose's part in finding the relics of Vitalis and Agricola in Bologna, their translation and deposition beneath the altar, see: Paulinus of Milan, *Life of Ambrose* 29.1 (*PL* 14. 29–50); Kötting, *Der frühchristliche Reliquienkult*, 20; Dassman, 'Ambrosius und die Märtyrer', 57–8. For a recent translation see B. Ramsey, *Ambrose* (London: Routledge, 1997), 208.

[54] McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, 284–5. See also E. D. Hunt, 'The Traffic of Relics', in S. Hackel (ed.), *The Byzantine Saint; University of Birmingham Fourteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* (London: Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, 1981), 171–9. In his travels to the east Gaudentius was also given a relic of the Forty Martyrs of Sebastia (Gaudentius, *Sermon* 17; *PL* 20, col. 962).

to these shipments further elucidate the need for reliquaries; they also introduce us to the social atmosphere and the beliefs surrounding the relics. This book opened with a quotation from Paulinus' letter to his friend and colleague Sulpicius Severus,[55] in which he tells him how he gathered in one casket relics of several saints and martyrs for the church he constructed in Fundi. In Rouen, around 396, the bishop Victricius received a shipment of relics from Ambrose. Together with his congregation, Victricius welcomed the relics with an imperial *adventus* ceremony. In a sermon, *De laude sanctorum* (Praising the saints),[56] probably written for the occasion, and most likely sent to Ambrose in thanks, Victricius describes the good fortune of his congregation:

> We too dearest brethren, belong to the mercy of God and the omnipotence of the savior: the increase of spiritual goods, even in our time, tells us so. We have seen no executioner, we are ignorant of the sword unsheathed, yet we make more altars for divine powers. Today there is no bloodstained enemy, yet we are enriched by the passion of the saints. No torture now has oppressed us, yet we carry the trophies of the martyrs.[57]

And he continued by blessing the sender and presumably the envoys:

> Blessed Ambrose, with what reverence shall I now embrace you? With what love, Theodulus. shall I kiss you? With what inner arms, Eustachius, shall I clasp you to my senses? With what honor from a renewed mind, Catio, with what wonder shall I receive you? Indeed, I do not know; I do not know what to repay for such great deserts.[58]

In another letter written by Paulinus in Nola to Sulpicius Severus in Primuliacum, around 402 or 403, he recalls that Sulpicius, building a new basilica, had asked him for relics of saints. Paulinus offers him a fragment of the relic of the true cross, which he had received shortly before from Melania the Elder. The relic

[55] Both Paulinus and Sulpicius Severus renounced aristocratic wealth and political status in favour of ascetic monasticism, together with financing and developing pilgrimage complexes, Paulinus in Nola and Severus in Aquitaine. See Trout, *Paulinus of Nola*, 17–18, 58–50, 93–5, 145–59; S. Mratschek, *Der Briefwechsel des Paulinus von Nola: Kommunikation und soziale Kontakte zwischen christlichen Intellektuellen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 140–3.

[56] *De laude sanctorum* (*CCSL* 64. 53–93, Demeulenaere); Clark, 'Victricius of Rouen', 365–99 with introduction and a full annotated translation of the sermon into English. The translations given here are his. The sermon was carried to Nola, as we learn from Paulinus, *Ep*. 18. 5. See also Clark, 'Translating Relics', 173–6.

[57] *De laude sanctorum*, 1. 1–8: *Pertinere nos, dilectissimi fraters, ad misericordiam Dei et omnipotentiam Saluatoris etiam praesentibus spiritalium bonorum cumulis admonemur. Nullum uidimus percussorem, gladium uacuum uagina nescimus, et altaria diuinarum addimus potestatum. Nullus est hodie cruentus inimicus, et sanctorum passione ditamur. Nullus nunc tortor incubuit, et martyrum tropaea portamus* (*CCSL* 64. 69, Demeulenaere).

[58] *De laude sanctorum*, 2. 1–5: *Qua te nunc, benedicte Ambrosi, ueneratione complexer? Qua te, Theodule, exosculer caritate? Quibus te interioribus brachiis, Eustachi, sensui meo glutinem? Quo te cultu nouae mentis, Catio, qua admiratione suscipiam? Nescio profecto, nescio pro tantis meritis quid rependam* (*CCSL* 64. 71–72, Demeulenaere).

had been given to her by John of Jerusalem.[59] The fragment, Paulinus writes, 'will enhance both the consecration of your basilica and your holy collection of sacred ashes'.[60]

These holy gifts or exchanges of relics signify a chain of influential people simultaneously promoting the cult.[61] The early caskets, originating in Milan (S. Nazaro), possibly Campania (Africana) and North Italy–Gaul (Brivio), match this 'marketing strategy'[62] in date and place of origin. However, I have attributed the casket from Nea Herakleia to Rome, of which we have no records of translation. This, of course, does not mean that relics were not venerated there, or exported. On the contrary, in the time of Bishop Damasus the cult of relics was at its peak, but with less liberality. Damasus built new shrines to answer the needs of the cult of martyrs, such as the church next to the shrine of Hippolytus, but did not remove the relics.[63] 'Rome refused to circulate *reliquiae* of its own martyrs, permitting only the creation of contact relics for distribution to other churches.'[64] Perhaps such *brandea* were treasured in the silver casket from Nea Herakleia.[65]

As for North Africa, the date and place of the cult of relics there also agree with those of the silver casket group. I have suggested that the Capsella Africana could have been a Campanian product, probably made in the second quarter of the fifth century. As recalled, it was found in Numidia. It could be that requests for relics and their translation to Africa became more common after the relics of the protomartyr Stephen arrived in the southern continent, welcomed by

[59] For Melania, see N. Moine, 'Melaniana', *Recherches augustiniennes*, 15 (1980), 3–79; For her friendship with Paulinus see Trout, *Paulinus of Nola*, 41.

[60] *Ep*. 31. 1, trans. Walsh, *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola*, 2. 125: *quod digne et ad basilicae sanctificationem uobis et ad sanctorum cinerum cumulandam benedictionem mitteremus* (*CSEL* 29. 268); D. G. Hunter, 'Vigilantius of Calagurris and Victricius of Rouen: Ascetics, Relics, and Clerics in Late Roman Gaul', *JECS* 7 (1999), 420; Trout, *Paulinus of Nola*, 151, 242; Mratschek, *Der Briefwechsel*, 435.

[61] P. Brown, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 90–1; Recently, Mratschek, *Der Briefwechsel*, 427–43, esp. 433–43.

[62] For the term see McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, 284.

[63] For the shrine of Hippolytus see G. Bertonière, *The Cult Center of the Martyr Hippolytus on the Via Tiburtina*, BAR Int. Ser. 260 (Oxford: BAR, 1985). Around 380 the emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius I addressed an edict to Pancratius, the then Prefect of Rome, concerning burial within the city. They wrote to him that this was not allowed, not even in exceptional cases as of apostles' or martyrs' remains. Clark, 'Translating Relics', 169, wonders whether Pancratius was asking for the emperors' view in case Bishop Damasus should attempt to establish intra mural martyrs' shrines.

[64] Roberts, *Poetry*, 16. See also, C. Pietri, *Roma christiana; recherches sur l'Eglise de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (311–440)* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1976), 606–7. Kötting, *Der frühchristliche Reliquienkult*, 23; for contact relics (*brandea*) see id. 'Reliquienverehrung, ihre Enstehung und ihre Formen', *Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift*, 67 (1958), 327–34.

[65] With the hexagonal silver casket from Pula (Catalogue no. 8) dated to the early 5th cent., a flat gold casket was found, containing a *brandeum*, a piece of yellow cloth with blood stains. See Swoboda, 'Frühchristliche Reliquiarien', 1, and Buschhausen, *Die spätrömischen Metallscrinia*, 250.

Augustine's disciple and friend Evodius, bishop of Uzalis, who had visited Nola in 404.[66] It is well known that after that event, Augustine, who earlier opposed such forms of piety, accepted the veneration of relics and the belief in the miracles they performed, encouraging, with some reservation, his people to seek cures at the martyr's shrine. In 424 Stephen's relics even entered Hippo.[67]

The translation of relics into churches, and their dissemination, explains the physical need for reliquaries but not yet their overall decorations. Attempts to understand why the distribution of relics, although officially forbidden,[68] was actively promoted at the end of the fourth century and during the fifth, have been made from different points of view, considering various social and political aspects reflected in contemporary textual sources but disregarding the decoration programmes of the relics' containers. I will mention a few explanations, referring to the personages already introduced above. For instance, the cult of relics answered the church's need in the second half of the fourth century, no longer suffering from persecution, to connect with its past through relics, rather like the wish to visit the *loca sancta*—both of them physical remains of a sacred past.[69] In addition, the cult of martyrs brought more people into the church and created models of imitation for worshippers.[70] Paradoxically, worshippers were able to perceive the relics as representing a whole martyr only when they were fragmented and dispersed.[71] Moreover, the cult served people in authority. They became the impresarios of the cult, to some extent free from the ordinary obligations of society, and entering the sacred hierarchy.[72] This is reflected, for instance, in the letter cited earlier, in which Ambrose explains to his sister why he has reserved a space for his sarcophagus next to the relics of the martyrs. Damasus, promoting the cult of the local Roman martyrs, at the same time elevated his position and

[66] In 415 the relics of Stephen were found in Caphargamala by the priest Lucianus and John, Bishop of Jerusalem and transferred in an *adventus* ceremony to the church of Sion. Soon afterwards, fragments of the relics began to travel. By 418 or 419 the relics arrived in Africa Proconsularis. See V. Saxer, *Morts, martyrs, reliques en Afrique chrétienne aux premiers siècles* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1980), 245–79; Trout, *Paulinus of Nola*, 247.

[67] C. Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 104, with bibliography; P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 408–18; Saxer, *Morts, martyrs, reliques*, 165–9, 242–4, 254–79; Trout, *Paulinus of Nola*, 247 ff.

[68] See above, n. 53.

[69] See most recently, Av. Cameron, 'Remaking the Past', in G. W. Bowersock, P. Brown, and O. Grabar (eds.), *Interpreting Late Antiquity. Essays on the Postclassical World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1–20.

[70] Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals*, 73.

[71] As concluded by Saxer, *Morts, martyrs, reliques*, 312–13. See also below.

[72] Brown, *The Cult of Saints*, 38 and ch. 3, 'The Invisible Companion'.

power as their successor, as he himself testified in an informal letter.[73] Paulinus of Nola found that promoting the cult of Felix actually enhanced his own authority and influence in regional affairs.[74] Further, the constant relevance of the relics as prefiguring the struggle between good and evil, was used in different contexts. It was a tool for Ambrose in his fight against the Arians in Milan. Paulinus of Nola alludes to this:

> Thus, as we know, the holy bishop Ambrose acted not long ago; relying on that gift, he translated to a different church saints who had earlier been unknown, but whom he then identified on information supplied by Christ, and was able to confound the raging queen with the light he had disclosed.[75]

Paulinus is referring to the empress Justina, an anti-Nicene, under whose influence the boy emperor Valentinian II renewed in 386 the decree of tolerance allowing the practice of Arianism, and with whom Ambrose was long in conflict.[76] Thus, the cult of local martyrs and the translation of relics among the elite 'offered a way of expressing both protection and solidarity'.[77] There were also economic reasons to promote the cult of relics.[78] However, none of these arguments adequately connect the decoration programmes of the caskets and the contemporary cult of relics.

The connection may be partly elucidated by the posthumous activity involved in the cult of relics, namely, the translation, the *adventus* ceremony welcoming the relics, the placing of the relics on the same axis as the altar, the *ad sanctos* burial, and the annual celebration of the saint's day. All this was based on an important assumption, the presence of the martyrs within the fragments, and the conviction that the fragment was actually the whole, so that it could be effective in fulfilling its role as intercessor and advocate at the end of days.[79] In Victricius' words:

[73] Pietri, *Roma Christiana*, 869–70. In this context it is especially interesting to compare the early Christian Pope's attitude to and use of relics with that of Paschal I (817–24) in Rome. See most recently, E. Thunø, *Image and Relic. Mediating the Sacred in Early Medieval Rome* (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 2002).

[74] See the section entitled 'Brokering the Power of Felix,' in Trout, *Paulinus of Nola*, 186–97.

[75] *Carmen* 19. 317; Translated by Mango, 'Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics', 53.

[76] See Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals*, 79–80; McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, 214–17; Cf. Dassman, 'Ambrosius und die Märtyrer', 56–7.

[77] Brown, *The Cult of Saints*, 41–9; 94–8. The quotation is on p. 94. For the triumph over unjust power, especially in the narrative of the arrival of St Stephen's relics in Minorca, see ibid. 100–5; S. Bradbury, *Severus of Minorca: Letter on the Conversion of the Jews* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996); for the cult of martyrs as an inspiration for asceticism, see Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, 69–72 and Clark, 'Translating Relics', 172.

[78] Brown, *The Cult of Saints*, 40–1.

[79] For the theological explanation of the belief, see the introduction in Clark, 'Victricius of Rouen.' This notion probably accounts for the designing of silver reliquaries, as well as others of different materials, in the shape of a sarcophagus. See above, Section A of the present chapter.

Thus we demonstrate that the whole can be in the part. So we can no longer complain of smallness: for when we say that, as in the genus, nothing of sacred bodies perishes, we certainly reckoned that what is divine cannot be diminished, because it is wholly present in the whole.[80]

On his pilgrimage journey to the Holy Land, Gaudentius of Brescia received from the nuns of Caesarea in Capadocia relics of the forty martyrs of Sebaste, given to them by St Basil. On his return, Gaudentius treasured them in a church he named 'The Gathering of the Saints,' *concilium sanctorum*,[81] being certain that the martyrs were within his fragments.[82]

The welcoming *adventus* ceremony immediately placed the relics in the same sphere as the triumphs of rulers or the *adventus* rituals of bishops, and proclaimed an association with Christ's entry into Jerusalem and with his second coming.[83] A depiction of such a ceremony in honour of relics is seen on the famous ivory plaque in Trier (Fig. 98).[84] In front of an architectural setting of a city and a church, the relics are held by two bishops seated in a carriage in a procession coming through the gate, acclaimed by personages of various ranks and by the royal family. The historical event depicted is supposed to be the arrival of St Stephen's relics in Constantinople, welcomed by Pulcheria, the

[80] *De laude sanctorum*, 10. 14–18: *Ostendimus itaque in parte totum esse posse. Vnde quaeri iam de exiguitate non possumus: nam cum dixerimus ad instar generis nihil sacrosanctis perire corporibus, certe illud adsignauimus non posse minui quod diuinum est, quia totum in toto est* (*CCSL* 64. 85, Demeulenaere; the translation is from Clark, 'Victricius of Rouen', 392). For the supposed benefit accruing in seeing the fragment and believing it to be the whole rather than actually seeing the whole, see Brown, *The Cult of Saints*, 78–9.

[81] Brown, *The Cult of Saints*, 95.

[82] Gaudentius of Brescia, *Tractate* 17. 35–6 (ed. Glueck, *CSEL* 68): *pars ipsa, quam meruimus, plenitudo est*; Cf. Theodoret on the Forty Martyrs in: *Cure of Pagan Ills*, 8. 10–11 (ed. P. Canivet *SC* 57): 'no one grave conceals the bodies of each of them, but they are shared out among towns and villages, which call them saviours of souls and bodies, and doctors, and honour them as founders and protectors'. Trans. E. D. Hunt, 'The Traffic of Relics', in S. Hackel (ed.), *The Byzantine Saint: University of Birmingham Fourteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine studies* (London: Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, 1981), 175 n. 27.

[83] N. Gussone, 'Adventus-Zeremoniell und Translation von Reliquien, Victricius von Rouen *De laude sanctorum*', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 10 (1976), 125–33. For *adventus* ceremonies in early Christian Rome see M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 84–91; For *adventus* representations see the classic study by E. H. Kantorowicz, 'The "Kings Advent" and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina', *AB* 26 (1944), 207–31; also E. Dinkler, *Der Einzug in Jerusalem: Ikonographische Untersuchungen in Anschluss an ein bisher unbekanntes Sarkophagfragment* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1970); S. MacCormack, 'Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity: The Ceremony of *Adventus*', *Historia*, 21 (1972), 721–52; id., *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*, The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 17–89; See also G. Åkerström-Hougen, 'Adventus Travels North. A Note on the Iconography of some Scandinavian Gold Bracteates', *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Partinentia*, 15 (2001), 229–44.

[84] Trier, Cathedral Treasury; W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1976), no. 143; K. G. Holum and G. Vikan, 'The Trier Ivory, Adventus Ceremonial, and the Relics of St. Stephen', *DOP* 33 (1979), 115–33.

sister of Theodosius II.[85] The association of the *adventus* ceremony with the expected *adventus* of Christ is reflected also in the textual sources. In his sermon, Victricius makes the association and also alludes to the relics' role of intercession:

> Just so, dearest ones, before the day of judgement the radiance of the righteous pours into all basilicas, all churches, the heart of the faithful, to return, of course, to itself when it takes on the role of the judge . . .
>
> So, most loving ones, while the crowd of saints is newly arrived, let us bow down and bring forth sighs from the inmost veins of our bodies. Our advocates are here: let us set out in prayer the story of our faults. The judges are on our side, and can mitigate the sentence; to them it was said. 'You shall sit upon twelve seats of judgement, you shall judge the twelve tribes of the sons of Israel' (Matthew 19: 28) . . .
>
> The longing for the saints is not to be deferred. Why do we delay? Let the court stand open for the divine martyrs; let the relics be joined, the favor also joined, let the first fruits of the resurrection come together as one.[86]

Prudentius, too, associates the cult of local martyrs with the Last Judgement, when, in the introductory stanza of the fourth poem of his collection of martyrs' poems, the *Liber Peristephanon*, he presents an eschatological vision:

> A house filled with glorious saints, bearing in its embrace so many gifts to offer all together to Christ, has no fear of the destruction of this transitory world. When God comes, brandishing his brilliant right hand and resting on a red-colored cloud, to establish for the peoples of the world the scales of justice, fairly balanced, each city from the great circle of the globe will hasten to meet Christ, head held high and carrying in baskets precious gifts.[87]

[85] Probably in 421; considered one of Pulcheria's greatest achievements. The date of the ivory is not certain. Most scholars agree on the 6th cent. See Holum and Vikan, 'The Trier Ivory'. Compare, recently, Stiegemann and Wemhoff (eds.), *799: Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit*, 519–21, cat. no. VIII.9. For a 9th- or even 10th-cent. date, see P. Speck, 'Das Trierer Elbenbein und andere Unklarheiten', *Varia* II (1987), 275–83; L. Brubaker, 'The Chalke Gate, the Construction of the Past, and the Trier Ivory', *BMGS* 23 (1999), 258–85, esp. 270–81.

[86] *De laude sanctorum*, 9. 1–4, 12. 1–6, 12. 112–15: *Haut aliter, carissimi, ante diem iudicii in cunctas basilicas, in omnes ecclesias, in omnium denique fidelium pectus iustorum splendor infunditur, in se scilicet rediturus cum personam sumpserit iudicantis . . .*

Qua de re, amantissimi, dum recens est turba sanctorum, incumbamus et ex imis corporum uenis suspiria proferamus. Adsunt audocati, delictorum nostrorum gesta oratione pandamus. Fauent iudices, possunt mitigare sententiam, quibus dictum est: Sedebitis super duodecim tribunalia, iudicabitis duodecim tribus filiorum Israel . . . Non sunt sanctorum desideria differenda. Cur moramur? Diuinis pateat aula martyribus; iungantur reliquiae, iungantur et gratiae; in unum conueniant primae resurrectionis exordia (*CCSL* 64. 82–83, 88, 92, Demeulenaere).

[87] *Pe*. 4. 5–16: *Plena magnorum domus angelorum | non timet mundi fragilis ruinam | tot sinu gestans simul offerenda | munera Christo. | Cum deus dextram quatiens coruscam | nube subnixus veniet rubente | gentibus iustam positurus aequo | pondere libram, | orbe de magno caput excitata | obviam Christo properanter ibit | civitas quaeque pretiosa portans | dona canistris* (trans. from Roberts, *Poetry*, 31).

What Prudentius describes here is an eschatological scenario, 'a procession of cities, each presenting to Christ at the end of the world its own particular gift, the bones of its martyr or martyrs'.[88] It is of interest here to compare the last two sources with Augustine's reaction to the arrival of the relics of St Stephen at Hippo in 424. Augustine is much more cautious in welcoming the martyr. He warns the crowd 'that it was the example of Stephen's fulfilment of divine precepts before his death that should motivate their imitation'.[89] Augustine's careful treatment of the celebrations, asking his hearers to take the relics in due proportion, emphasizes an attitude opposite to the sermon of Victricius, the poem of Prudentius and the eschatological character of the caskets' decoration.

As for the celebration of the martyr's *dies natalis* (in fact, the anniversary of the death), the annual recycling of martyrdom and hope filled the gap between the past and the future. The story of the martyr's passion was read aloud, and his miracles were retold. 'The deeds of the martyr or of the confessor had brought the mighty deeds of God in the Old Testament and the gospels into his or her own time.'[90] Moreover, 'the hagiographer was recording the moments when the seemingly extinct past and the unimaginably distant future had pressed into the present'.[91] Prudentius in his *Peristephanon* provided the *passio* narratives intended to be read during the celebrations in order to bring these narratives closer to the worshippers. For instance, three of the martyrs about whom Prudentius writes were thrown into prison. In the poem on one of them, Fructuosus, the martyr, addresses his deacons: 'Prison for Christians is a step to the crown, prison carries them to heaven's heights, prison wins God's favor for the blessed.'[92] In another poem Prudentius describes the martyrs' feast as a spring in the winter, as a triumph of the good virtues, thus reflecting connotations of salvation.[93]

In addition to the *adventus* ceremonies and the annual feasts, the deposition of the relics beneath the altar also enhanced the eschatological association of the cult of relics. Here the emphasis is on the martyr's role as intercessor on the Day of

[88] Roberts, *Poetry*, 33. For further discussion see C. Gnilka, 'Der Gabenzug der Städte bei der Ankunft des Herrn. Zu Prudentius, Peristephanon 4,1–76', in H. Keller and N. Staubach (eds.), *Iconologia Sacra Mythos, Bildkunst und Dichtung in der Religions- und Sozialgeschichte Alteuropas. Festschrift für K. Hauck zum 75. Geburtstag* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994), 25–67.

[89] *Sermon* 317 (*PL* 38. 1435–7). Here I quote Trout, *Paulinus of Nola*, 248. See also C. Lambot, 'Les sermons de Saint Augustine pour les fêtes de martyrs', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 67 (1949), 249–66, esp. 263; For Augustine's anxiety about the danger of idolatry if the cult of martyrs was practiced as actual worship rather than simple veneration, see P. Cox Miller, 'The Little Blue Flower is Red: Relics and the Poetizing of the Body', *JECS* 8/2 (2000), 216–18.

[90] Brown, *The Cult of Saints*, 81; The tale of the three Canziani saints, whose portraits appear on the oval casket from Grado, is recorded in a sermon written for their annual celebration (*natalicium*), by Maximus of Turin. See Ch. 2§B, n. 155.

[91] Brown, *The Cult of Saints*, 81.

[92] *Pe*. 6. 25–7, Roberts, *Poetry*, 79.

[93] Roberts, *Poetry*, 100.

Judgement, made possible through the bond of sacrifice between the martyr and Christ. In a letter accompanying the relic of the true cross which Paulinus sent to his friend Sulpicius Severus in 404, he declares:

> The revered altar conceals a sacred union, for martyrs lie there with the holy cross. The entire martyrdom of the saving Christ is here assembled, cross, body, and blood of the Martyr, God himself.[94]

If Sulpicius Severus should decide to keep the cross for his 'daily protection and healing' Paulinus suggests that the following inscription should be added, probably intending that Severus would inscribe it somewhere in the apse of the basilica in Primuliacum:

> The splendour of God's table conceals those dear relics of the saints which have been taken from the bodies of the apostles. The Spirit of the Lord hovers near with healing powers, and demonstrates by living proofs that these are sacred ashes. So twin graces favour our devoted prayers, the one springing from the martyrs below, the other from the sacrament above. The precious death of the saints assists, through this fragment of their ashes, the prayers of the priest and the welfare of the living.[95]

Thus a double grace or twice as much mercy await the believers when the time comes, thanks to the represented double sacrifice, that of Christ commemorated during the Eucharist and that of the martyrs below the altar.[96] In a somewhat similar but more private way, Lucilla, a Spanish noblewoman living in Carthage, practised her veneration.[97] Possessing a bone from the body of a martyr, she used to kiss it before taking the Eucharist. Cox Miller sums up the ritual as follows: 'Here are two ritual actions that echo each other, but dissonantly: ritual ingestion of elements considered to represent a whole body is preceded by ritual veneration of an element of a body that once was a whole.'[98] This suits the placing of the relics under the altar, and brings to mind the various crosses that decorate the

[94] *Divinum veneranda tegunt altaria foedus, | Conpositis sacra cum cruce martyribus. | Cuncta salutiferi coeunt martyria Christi, | Crux corpus sanguis martyris, ipse Deus*. (*Ep*. 32. 7, trans. Walsh, *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola*, 2. 141–2.) Brandenburg, 'Altar und Grab', 77. cf. Trout, *Paulinus of Nola*, 151 n. 90.

[95] *Pignora sanctorum divinae Gloria mensae | Velat apostolicis edita corporibus, | Spiritus et domini medicis virtutibus instans | Per documenta sacros viva probat cineres. | Sic geminata piis adspirat gratia votis, | infra martyribus, desuper acta sacris. | Vota sacerdotis viventum et commoda parvo | Pulvere sanctorum mors pretiosa iuvat*. (*Ep*. 32,8, trans. Walsh, *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola*, 2. 142–3.) See Brandenburg, 'Altar und Grab', 78; T. Lehmann, *Paulinus Nolanus und die Basilica Nova in Cimitile/Nola; Studien zu einem zentralen Denkmal der spätanik-frühchristlichen Architektur*, Spätantike—Frühes Christentum—Byzanz. Kunst im ersten Jahrtausend. Studien und Perspektiven, 19 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), 158–9.

[96] Brandenburg, 'Altar und Grab', 78–82, also for additional quotations from Paulinus regarding the same combination of relics and altar.

[97] Optatus of Milevus, *Against the Donatists*, 1. 16. After Delehaye, *Les Origins du culte des martyrs*, 60; Brown, *The Cult of Saints*, 34.

[98] P. Cox Miller, 'Differential Networks: Relics and Other Fragments in Late Antiquity', *JECS* 6 (1998), 123.

caskets, representing the cycle of salvation through their threefold meaning as symbols of Christ's sacrifice, triumph, and return, while within the caskets the material witnesses of the martyr's sacrifice and triumph are treasured.

Prudentius' *Peristephanon* contains several descriptions of the burial of relics beneath the altar. M. Roberts analyses the meaning of the deposition in that context: 'Their position below the altar—whence, according to Prudentius, "they drink in the breath of heavenly bounty" (*caelestis auram muneris*, 5.519) i.e., at one level, the offering of the mass—is a visual reminder in the layout of the church of the privileged access that the saints enjoy to God, access that devotees, in their prayers, hope will be turned to their own community's interest.'[99] The place of burial reflects the ability of the martyr to communicate between the two realms, the heavenly and the earthly; in effect, it defines his task in the eyes of the community.[100] To the late fourth-century poet, as to Paulinus, in being the patron saint or titular martyr, the martyr's task is to be an advocate of the community before God. He or she intermediates between the two realms. The martyr speaks in the celestial Court of Law before Christ the Judge. His advocacy, 'prefigures the ability to intervene in the individual Christian's interest even after death—hence the popularity of burial *ad sanctos*—and ultimately to speak for the devotee before the divine *iudex* at the last Judgement'.[101]

Paulinus of Nola describes four chapels that were located *ad sanctum Felicem*, intended for the burial of his family and dependants.[102] In Primuliacum, Sulpicius Severus built a basilica, placing the relics of the martyr Clarus beneath the altar, and planning a grave next to him for himself.[103] The road to heaven would then be easier, the doors would be opened, since the neighbouring martyr beneath the altar was already, to use Paulinus' words, 'in the bosom of the fathers'.[104]

However, not everyone at that time thought that *ad sanctos* burial implied future advantages for the deceased interred in the vicinity of the relics. Recalling his words of caution on the arrival of St Stephen at Hippo, Augustine minimized the power of intercession. His answer to Paulinus of Nola about the custom of *ad sanctos*, 'The care to be taken for the Dead' (*De Cura pro mortuis gerenda*),[105] may

[99] Roberts, *Poetry*, 17.

[100] For the martyr's communication between the two worlds, see Brown, *The Cult of Saints*, 61; Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, 97; Roberts, *Poetry*, 20–8.

[101] Roberts, *Poetry*, 22.

[102] *Ep*. 32,12 (*CSEL* 29. 287); *Carm*. 19. 478; see plan of church in T. Lehmann, 'Der Besuch des Papstes Damasus an der Pilgerstädes Hl. Felix in Cimitile/Nola', *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie, Bonn 22.–28. September 1991*, JbAC Suppl., 20/2 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1995), 969–81, fig. 1. The plan shows clearly how later bishops of Nola acted in the same way by asking to be buried next to the saint.

[103] Brandenburg, 'Altar und Grab', 80–1.

[104] *Sive patrum sinibus recubas dominive sub era* . . . (*Ep*. 32. 6.) See Brandenburg, 'Altar und Grab', 81.

[105] *CSEL* 41. 621–60; Clark, 'Victricius of Rouen', 371; Trout, *Paulinus of Nola*, ch. 8; Brown, *The Cult of Saints*, 27.

be seen in the same context. The place of burial has no importance, Augustine declared, since the soul detaches itself from the body and the funerary rites concern and comfort the living only: burial next to the saints might be beneficial to the soul of the deceased if it affected the frequency of the deceased's friends' thinking about him, and if their prayers directed to the martyr included the deceased's soul as well.[106]

A different notion is expressed in the poems of Prudentius. 'When Prudentius addresses St. Vincent as "effective spokesman for our crimes before the throne of the Father" (*nostri reatus efficax | orator ad thronum patris*, 5.547–8),' says Roberts, 'the context is of a wish that the saint be present here and now to hear our prayers (*adesto nunc et percipe | voces precantum supplices*, 5.545–6). But the language calls to mind the Last Judgement and evokes the transtemporal patronage of the martyr, before a court that is both a court of Law (*reatus*) and of a ruler (*thronum*). Once more in the act of devotion temporal distinctions are collapsed, and the eschatological future is present in the here and now.'[107] In other words, when the relics are buried below the altar, it is as if they are 'at the feet of God', as described in Rev. 6: 9,[108] or, as Paulinus, who goes a step further, says, 'in the bosom of the fathers'.

The notion expressed in Prudentius' poems and in the letters of Paulinus of Nola is visually manifested in the decoration programmes of the figurative caskets, representing eschatological implications combined with local intercessors.[109] These objects complement the picture arising from the cult and ritual preformed in honour of the relics, the *adventus*, the annual feasts, the placing beneath the altar and the burial *ad sanctos*.

As I have shown in dealing with each casket, several monumental church decorations had a similar aim. Two such early programmes have survived in descriptions, namely the two apse decorations which Paulinus wrote about to Sulpicius Severus: the apse mosaic of the Basilica Apostolorum in Nola (Fig. 48), and the apse composition for the church in Fundi (Fig. 47).[110] The lines describing the mosaic depicted on the vault in Nola are as follows:

[106] Y. Duval, *Auprès des saints corps et âme l'inhumation 'ad sanctos' dans la chrétienté d'Orient et d'Occident du IIIe au VIIe siècle* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1988), 3–21. For the correspondence between Paulinus and Augustine see Trout, *Paulinus of Nola*, 244–51; Mratschek, *Der Briefwechsel*, 473–85; Brown, *The Cult of Saints*, 34–5; Saxer, *Morts, Martyrs, Reliques*, 165–8.

[107] Roberts, *Poetry*, 22.

[108] Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, 3. 212–13: '*ossibus altar et inpositum, | illa dei sita sub pedibus*', Roberts, *Poetry*, 20; see also Kötting, *Der frühchristliche Reliquienkult*, 22.

[109] The correlation between the poems of Prudentius and contemporary visual art can also be traced in the style. See M. Roberts, *The Jeweled Style: Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), *passim*. For further comparison between the aesthetic characters of the poems and the visual arts see Cox Miller, 'Differential Networks', esp. 133 with further bibliography.

[110] *Ep*. 32 (*CSEL* 29. 275–301); Engemann, 'Zu den Apsis-Tituli' and now Lehmann, *Paulinus Nolanus und die Basilica Nova in Cimitile/Nola*, 165–8, 188–90.

The Trinity shines out in all its mystery. Christ is represented by a lamb, the Father's voice thunders forth from the sky, and the Holy Spirit flows down in the form of a dove. A wreath's gleaming circle surrounds the cross, and around this circle the apostles form a ring, represented by a chorus of doves. The holy unity of the Trinity merges in Christ, but the Trinity has its threefold symbolism. The Father's voice and the Spirit show forth God, the cross and the lamb proclaim the holy victim. The purple and the palm point to kingship and to triumph. Christ Himself, the Rock, stands on the rock of the church, and from this rock four plashing fountains flow, the evangelists, the living streams of Christ.[111]

The relics in Nola, as Paulinus attests, were deposited under the altar; a clear salvation axis stretches between these relics, the altar, and the composition in the apse. The monumental precursor cross within the starry medallion, the hand of God above and the Lamb of God standing on the four rivers below, signifying both the sacrifice and the reward, complete the axis.

The description of the picture planned for the basilica at Fundi reads:

Here the saints' toil and reward are rightly merged, the steep cross and the crown which is the cross's high prize. God Himself, who was the first to bear the cross and win the crown, Christ, stands as a snowy lamb beneath the bloody cross in the heavenly grove of flower-dotted paradise. This Lamb, offered as an innocent victim in unmerited death, with rapt expression is haloed by the bird of peace which symbolizes the Holy Spirit, and crowned by the Father from a ruddy cloud. The Lamb stands as judge on a lofty rock, and surrounding this throne are two groups of animals, the goats at odds with lambs. The Shepherd is diverting the goats to the left and is welcoming the deserving lambs on His right hand.[112]

Here Paulinus goes further. He describes an illustration of Matthew 25: 31–3, the Separation of the Sheep from the Goats, flanked by martyrs holding their crowns,[113] thus combining the task of the martyrs as rewarded intercessors with the Parousia and the Last Judgement. These accounts are descriptions of two works of art whose decoration programmes present the same cycle of salvation as does the deposition of the relics in the altar or under it: on the one

[111] *Pleno coruscat trinitas mysterio. | stat Christus agno, uox patris caelo tonat | et per columbam spiritus sanctus fluit. | Crucem corona lucido cingit globo, | cui coronae sunt corona apostolic, | quorum figura est in columbarum choro. | Pia trinitatis unitas Christo coit | habente et ipsa trinitate insignia. | deum reuelat uox paterna et spiritus, | sanctam fatentur crux et agnus uictimam, | regnum et triumphum purpura et palma indicant* (*Ep*. 32,10. (*CSEL* 29. 286), trans. Walsh, *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola*, 2. 145).

[112] *Sanctorum labor et merces sibi rite cohaerent, | ardua crux pretiumque crucis sublime, corona. | Ipse deus, nobis princepes crucis atque coronae, | inter floriferi caeleste nemus paradisi | sub cruce sanguinea niueo stat Christus in agno, | agnus ut innocua iniusto datus hostia leto, | alite quem placida sanctus perfundit hiantem | spiritus et rutila genitor de nube coronat | Et quia praecelsa quasi iudex rupe superstat, | bis geminae pecudis discors agnis genus haedi | circumstant solidum, laeuos aueritur haedos | pastor et emerotos dextra conplectitur agnos* (*Ep*. 32. 17 (*CSEL* 29. 292) trans. Walsh, *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola*, 2. 149–50).

[113] As reconstructed by Engemann, 'Zu den Apsis-Tituli', 26–30, fig. 5.

hand the sacrifice (*labor)*, on the other, the reward (*merces)* that is promised by Christ's sacrifice, triumph, and return.[114]

To the modern eye, used to see medieval reliquaries exhibited at the centre of the apse,[115] the deposition of the relics inside an altar or under it and the imaginary longitudinal axis stretched between the interred relics and the altar may seem to contradict the complicated decoration programmes of the caskets discussed here: if the caskets were not viewed why were they so elaborately decorated? Was the exhibition of the reliquaries during the translation and deposition sufficient for the viewers? What about the pilgrims who came to the martyr's shrine after the entombment? Did they not see the reliquary? In fact, many of the caskets such as those from Pula and Grado, but also non-figurative or even un-decorated ones were found inside marble boxes as described by Paulinus: 'under the lighted altar, a royal slab of purple marble covers the bones of holy men . . . one simple casket (*arcula*) embraces here his holy band, and in its tiny bosom embraces names so great.'[116] Decoration was not inevitable. The relics were revered whatever the look of the container which enclosed the presence of divine power in an earthly object. It was the casket, the medium, that made the bones into relics.[117]

Why, then, do we have a number of silver figurative reliquaries decorated with *ad hoc* designs to suit the needs of the local community? The answer to this contradiction may perhaps be found in a similar situation in the contemporary medium of sarcophagi, most of which were buried. The following discussion is based on the conclusions reached in J. Dresken-Weiland's research on late antique sarcophagus burial.[118] Most Christian sarcophagi placed in basilicas, in the adjacent mausolea, and in the surrounding cemeteries were buried in the ground and their decoration was not visible. In addition decorated or non-decorated sarcophagi indifferently might be assigned to privileged areas in the church apse, indicating that the decoration was not more significant than the marble itself. The figuration, when it existed, was devoted to the dead, honouring them, expressing their hopes and faith, and giving some comfort and consolation to relatives and friends. Leaving the decoration question aside, practical considerations such as lack of space and the need to protect the sarcophagi from theft

[114] Engemann, 'Zu den Apsis-Tituli', 30–3.

[115] One famous example is the Reliquary of the Three Magi in the Cathedral of Cologne. See A. Legner, *Kölner Heilige und Heiligtümer: Ein Jahrtausend europäischer Reliquienkultur* (Cologne: Greven-Verlag, 2003), with further bibliography.

[116] *Ep*. 32. 17 (*CSEL* 29. 292). See Introduction, n. 1.

[117] How the holy could be present in this world in a non-idolatrous way is the subject of an article by P. Cox Miller, 'Visceral Seeing: The Holy Body in Late Ancient Christianity', *JECS* 12/4 (2004), 391–411, esp. 403–6.

[118] J. Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen des 4–6. Jahrhunderts im Westen des Römischen Reiches*, RQ. Suppl., 55 (Rome: Herder, 2003).

and reuse found a partial solution in underground bestowal. The issue of protection must have been relevant in the case of reliquaries as well.[119] Similarly, it is possible that the caskets containing the relics were concealed so that the dead would not be disturbed, and that the decoration was executed in honour of the martyrs. The textual evidence quoted earlier may reveal a theological/liturgical reason for the concealment of the caskets.

Let us look again at Epistle 32 which Paulinus of Nola wrote to Sulpicius Severus accompanying a shipment of the relic of the true cross: 'The revered altar conceals a sacred union, for martyrs lie there with the holy cross. The entire martyrdom of the saving Christ is here assembled, cross, body, and blood of the martyr, God himself . . . Under the lighted altar a royal slab of purple marble covers the bones of holy men . . . So twin graces favour our devoted prayer, the one springing from the martyr below, the other from the sacrament above.' Similarly, when explaining his future place of entombment, Ambrose of Milan describes an ideal longitudinal axis between the altar and the relics below: 'He who suffered for all shall be upon the altar, those redeemed by His passion beneath it.'[120] The custom of installing the relics under the altar, whether the containers are decorated or not, thus has to do—like the rest of the ritual—with the eschatological aspect of their cult.

The monumental examples compared in this study with the caskets, and the two Campanian descriptions by Paulinus, show that the decoration programmes of the silver caskets are representative of the artistic stimulation promoted in association with the cult of relics. The artistic production together with the *ad sanctos* burial within the church (still outside the city walls), the deposition of the relics under the altar, the feast-days, the welcoming ceremonies, all allude to the eschatological aspect of the cult of relics. This attitude, manifested in the textual sources as well as the visual arts, may perhaps be connected to contemporary apocalyptic expectations: 'The last three decades of the fourth century . . . as well as the first half of the fifth, witnessed a gradual but steady revival in apocalyptic expectations of a more intense and literal kind.'[121]

[119] This might be the reason why some reliquaries were hidden interred but not under the main altar, as for instance in the case of the Capsella Africana which was discovered in the northern corner of the church (see above Ch. 2§A) or the hexagonal casket from Pula which was found with another hidden reliquary and a cross near the church cistern (see Section A of the present chapter).

[120] See p. 133 n. 50, p. 141 n. 94, and Introduction, n. 1.

[121] 'Apocalypticism in Early Christian Theology', in B. McGinn (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism* (New York: Continuum, 1998), 2. 3–47. The quotation is on p. 21. The same period was recently described as a 'Hot Time Zone of intensified Apocalyptic expectation, in which practically every major historical event especially when accompanied by supernatural portents and prodigies, was interpreted in Apocalyptic terms.' See O. Irshai, 'Dating the Eschaton: Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Calculations in Late Antiquity', in A. Baumgarten (ed.), *Apocalyptic Time*, Numen Book Series: Studies in the History of Religions, 86 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 113–53, esp. 140–8.

Most of the personages involved in promoting the cult of relics seem to have been anticipating the approaching end, to varying degrees. Even Ambrose, who had a more private and personal attitude to the Book of Revelation, and who was more interested in the death and judgement of the individual, interpreted contemporary events as signs of the imminent end.[122] Gaudentius of Brescia, who can be found on Ambrose's distribution of relics list, 'observes in his Paschal homilies on the book of Exodus that Christ died "at the evening of the world", and that the transformation of the human body and the whole cosmos is coming soon'.[123] Paulinus of Nola, who buried his son in Alcalá (Complutum), *ad sanctos*, next to the shrines of two martyrs, Justus and Patsor,[124] participated in the relic distribution network. He developed and reconstructed the shrine to St Felix and decorated it with pictures of the Parousia, apparently in fear of the coming end. His reaction on hearing that on the anniversary of his wife's death the senator Pammachius gave a feast to the poor in the Basilica of S. Pietro in Rome, was that 'Rome would not need to fear the threats of the Apocalypse.'[125] Such a fear seems to have played a role in his conversion to ascetic Christianity, as he wrote to his former teacher in Spain, Ausonius.[126] History, according to Paulinus, is coming to an end:

> All creation now waits in suspense for his [Christ's] coming,
> All faith and hope search intently for him, their king!
> The world, which is to be renewed, already gives birth
> To that end which approaches in the final days.
> True oracles in the holy books warn all people
> To believe in the prophecies and to prepare themselves for God.[127]

Paulinus' friend Sulpicius Severus also thought that 'the Day of Judgement is near',[128] possibly, as his chronicles attest, because he used the calculation system of Hippolytus of Rome, according to which the end of the world was dated to

[122] B. E. Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church, A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 97–101, and Daley, 'Apocalypticism', 21, cites, for example, the death of the emperor Valens at the battle of Adrianople in 378 and the conversion of the Goths and Armenians to Christianity as such signs according to Ambrose.

[123] *Tractate* 3.1 f., 12, after Daley, 'Apocalypticism', 25.

[124] *Carmen* 31. 605–10 (*CSEL* 30. 328–9); Kötting, *Der frühchristliche Reliquienkult*, 27; Mratschek, *Der Briefwechsel*, 215–16.

[125] *Ep*. 13. 15, the condolence letter to Pammachius (Walsh, *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola*, 1. 131); Brown, *The Cult of Saints*, 36.

[126] *Carmen* 10. 293–329; Roberts, *Poetry*, 33 n. 65.

[127] *Carmen* 31. 401–6 (*CSEL* 30. 321): *huius in aduentum modo pendent omnia rerum, | omnis in hunc regem spesque fidesque inhiat. | iamque propinquantem supreme tempore finem | inmutanda nouis saecula parturiunt. | omnes uera moment sacris oracular libris | credere praedictis seque parare deo*. Translation from Daley, 'Apocalypticism', 26.

[128] *Vita Martini*, 22. 5 after Daley, 'Apocalypticism', 23.

the year 500, and not the system of Eusebius, translated by Sulpicius' contemporary Jerome, postponing the end by three centuries.[129] Hippolytus of Rome not only devised a chronography of the world, but, by dating Creation, he attempted to date the Parousia, which he did in a Sabbatical millenarian fashion:

The first Parousia of our Lord took place on a Wednesday, the 8th of the Kalends of January, in the 42 years of the reign of Augustus, 5500 years after Adam . . . one must, therefore get to 6000 years before the Shabbath, the type and figure of the future kingdom of the saints who will reign with the Christ after his descent from the heavens, as John tells in the Book of Revelation.[130]

In his first book of *Dialogues* Sulpicius writes:

There is no doubt that Antichrist, conceived by an evil spirit, has already been born. He is now a child and will take over the empire when he comes of age. We heard all this from him [Martin of Tours] seven years ago. Ponder how close these coming fearful events are.[131]

In the *De duratione mundi*, written by Julius Quintus Hilarianus in the last year of the fifth century, we read at the end of a brief chronicle based on Hippolytus' chronography: 'There remain 101 years to complete the six thousands,' followed

[129] R. Landes, 'Lest the Millennium be Fulfilled: Apocalyptic Expectations and the Pattern of Western Chronography 100–800 CE', in W. Verbeke et al. (eds.), *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, Mediaevalia Lovaniensia 1:xv (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1988), 137–211; for Sulpicius Severus see pp. 152–3, also A.-D. van der Brinken, *Studien zur lateinischen Weltchronik bis in das Zeitalter Ottos von Freising* (Düsseldorf: Triltsch, 1957), 73, and recently Irshai, 'Dating the Eschaton', 144. Landes discusses the two main ways of reckoning time during the 4th and 5th cent. First there was *Annus Mundi* I, the age of the world as calculated by Hippolytus of Rome and Julius Africanus early in the 3rd cent. According to their chronography (AM I), the Incarnation took place 5,500 years after the Creation, so that they were living in the early 5700s AM I (Landes, 'Lest the Millennium be Fulfilled', 138). See also A. Luneau, *L'Histoire du salut chez les pères de l'eglise, la doctrine de s ages du monde* (Paris: Beauchesne et ses fils, 1964), 209–17. For the origins of Christian chronography and the six ages of the world as reflected in the Epistle of Barnabas and in the writings of Ireneus, see Landes, 'Lest the Millennium be Fulfilled', 141–4 and also the first chapter in Luneau's book. For Ireneus see M. O'Rourke-Boyle, 'Ireneus' Millennial Hope: A Polemical Weapon', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 36 (1965), 5–16. Early in the 4th cent. another system arose, calculated by Eusebius. He rejuvenated the world by almost exactly three centuries, dating his own time to the 5500s (AM II). This chronography was translated into Latin by Jerome in the 370s CE (5870s, AM I and *c*.5580 AM II). However, Landes points out, 'the next two important Latin Chronicles (Hilarianus, 397 and Sulpicius Severus, 404), continued to use AM I'. AM II gradually replaced the first age of the world during the 5th cent., until in the 6th cent. it became universally accepted (Landes, 'Lest the Millennium be Fulfilled', 139).

[130] *In Danielem*, 4. 23, after Landes, 'Lest the Millennium be Fulfilled', 145. see also Luneau, *L'histoire du salut*, 209–11.

[131] *Dialogues*, 2. 14: *non esse autem dubium, quin Antichristus malo spiritu conceptus iam natus esset et iam in annis puerilibus constitutus, aetate legitima sumpturus imperium. Quod autem haec ab illo audiuimus, annus octauus est: uos aestimate, quam iam in praecipiti consistant, quae futura metuuntur* (*CSEL* 1. 197, Halm), trans. B. McGinn, *Visions of the End* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 52.

by an enthusiastic description of the millennial kingdom to come.[132] The end of the world of Hilarianus and Sulpicius Severus was about a century away. In North Africa the treatise *Liber Genealogus* used the same system.[133] Both the *Peristephanon* of Prudentius and Victricius' sermon *de Laude Sanctorum*, from which some lines were quoted earlier, make it quite clear that the authors were anticipating the end. In his poem on the martyr Romanus, Prudentius reminds the audience:

> One day the heavens will be rolled up as a book,
> The sun's revolving orb will fall upon the earth,
> The sphere that regulates the months will crash in ruin.[134]

There were other influential people who calculated, taught, or wrote down these apocalyptic fears and expectations.[135] However, there was also a strong opposition to apocalyptic calculations and the interpretation of historical events as signs of the imminent end, coming from Jerome and from Augustine, 'insisting that it is not for the human mind to make exact calculations of the time of the end'.[136] This attitude is reflected in Augustine's chilly reaction to the *ad sanctos* burial custom or his evaluations of relics, at least during most of his life.[137] He rejected any attempt to interpret events like the earthquake in Constantinople in 398, the sack of Rome in 410, as signs of the imminent Parousia.[138] For him, historical time had nothing to do with the Eschaton. These were two separate worlds. In his 'Sermon on the Fall of the City', referring to Rome, Augustine 'reinforces the point that God allows such disasters not to bring about our destruction but to lead us to conversion'.[139] Nonetheless, Augustine's rejection shows, as seen earlier, that there were others who thought differently,[140] and his own use of the six days—six ages system of universal history contributed to millenarian

[132] *Restani itaque anni 101 ut consummentur anni 6000* (*Expositio de die paschae et mensis*, *PL* 13, col. 1105); Landes, 'Lest the Millennium be Fulfilled', 152; Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, 20; McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 51–2; Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*, 127.

[133] Landes, 'Lest the Millennium be Fulfilled', 153.

[134] *Pe*. 10. 536–538 (*CSEL* 61. 390): *Quandoque caelum ceu liber plicabitur, | cadet rotati solis in terram globus, | sferem ruina menstrualem distruet* (trans. Daley, 'Apocalypticism', 25).

[135] See Daley, 'Apocalypticism'; Landes, 'Lest the Millennium be Fulfilled'; and recently summarizing the question of time calculation by early Christian authors as background to her interest in the preoccupation with time and its calculation in the early Middle Ages, see B. Kühnel, *The End of Time in the Order of Things; Science and Eschatology in Early Medieval Art* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2003), 87–93.

[136] Daley, 'Apocalypticism', 30. See also Landes, 'Lest the Millennium be Fulfilled', 156–60; Kühnel, *The End of Time*, 88.

[137] Contrary to Augustine, Jerome was in favour of the relics cult, as is reflected in his essays *Contra Vigilantium*. See recently, Hunter, 'Vigilantius of Calagurris', 401–30.

[138] Landes, 'Lest the Millennium be Fulfilled', 157; Daley, 'Apocalypticism', 31.

[139] Daley, 'Apocalypticism', 31.

[140] Irshai, 'Dating the Eschaton', 140–5.

thought, although this was not his intention.[141] Even Augustine's own disciple, the Bishop of Carthage, Quodvultdeus, enumerated the signs of the Apocalypse.[142]

As for Jerome, his approach to the apocalyptic narrative in the Book of Revelation was that it referred to the church after the time of persecution, thus the present life of the church. At the same time, he was busy with chronographical studies, translating Eusebius' calculations of the end of the world into Latin, and in 398 revising the *Commentary on the Book of Revelation* by Victorinus, bishop of Pettau (Poetovio, d. 304).[143] After the fall of Rome, he was more ready to admit that these events to some extent accorded with what had been prophesied for the end of time.[144] The people involved with the translation of relics, such as Sulpicius Severus and Paulinus of Nola, even Ambrose, struggled with apocalyptic fears,[145] reflected not only in the textual sources but even more so in the decoration of the objects made to contain the relics.

The translations of relics and the apocalyptic context provide the atmosphere for the rise of the cult of martyrs and the use of reliquaries. In the case of the casket from Grado, dated here to *c.*500 (6000 according to Hippolytus), its patrons were probably calculating the Parousia by the Eusebian system, thus they still had some time before the end of the world, three centuries ahead. At that period, around the year 500, the association of the decoration programmes on silver reliquaries made in Italy and perhaps Gaul with the salvation cycle was over a century old. By then it had become a tradition, and as such, represented the local martyrs and the princely saints acclaiming Christ and the precursor cross, all in a contemporary fashion that was echoed in the later Byzantine caskets as well. In the history of salvation, the cult of relics fills the gap between the coming of Christ and his return in glory, and this is why, most likely, God, according to Paulinus of Nola, 'had dispersed the memorials of the holy like the light of stars in the night sky'.[146]

[141] Landes, 'Lest the Millennium be Fulfilled', 159; cf. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, 17–20.

[142] Landes, 'Lest the Millennium be Fulfilled', 158 and Daley, 'Apocalypticism', 33. For the notion of the approaching End of Days in the Christian communities of North Africa, see P. Fredriksen, 'Apocalypse and Redemption in Early Christianity, From John of Patmos to Augustine of Hippo', *Vigilae Christianae*, 45 (1991), 151–83, esp. 155–60.

[143] For his translation of Eusebius see Landes, 'Lest the Millennium be Fulfilled', 151. For the revision of Victorinus see M. Dulaey, 'Jérôme "éditeur" du Commentaire sur l'Apocalypse de Victorin de Poetovio', *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 37 (1991), 199–236.

[144] Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*, 101–4, and id., 'Apocalypticism', 28–9.

[145] Daley, 'Apocalypticism', 21.

[146] Carmen, 19. 18–19: *sic sacra disposuit terris monumenta piorum, | sparsit ut astrorum nocturno lumina caelo* (*CSEL* 30. 119), trans. Roberts, *Poetry*, 1.

Conclusions

The consolidating discussion in the last chapter confirmed the function of the caskets forming the matter of this book as reliquaries. Thus, far from a random assortment of vessels, scarcely sharing details, aims, or messages, the silver caskets may be considered as an innovative group, comprising the earliest reliquaries participating in the cult of Christian saints in Italy and to some extent in Gaul.[1] The reliquaries could not have been evaluated as such if art historical methods had not first been applied to each casket separately. These are individual works, presenting various decoration programmes, executed in different styles. Except for the Grado reliquary, the caskets are anonymous in the sense that their place of origin is not alluded to by any inscription. An attempt to understand the decoration programmes of these portable objects by basing oneself on iconographical research alone would not be comprehensive, as an attempt to reach conclusions concerning the social, cultural, and even theological context would be premature before provenance and date were established.[2] The present study of the images, layout of scenes, and combinations of symbols, as well as the style, all compared with contemporary monumental art, has identified possible marks of origin that allow further classification. For the casket from Nea Herakleia, which was thought to come from the east, a Roman origin, *c.*380, is proposed. Capsella Brivio is dated to the first decade of the fifth century in North Italy or Gaul. The origin issue of Capsella Africana was reopened by adding a possible alternative, a Campanian provenance of the second quarter of the fifth century, and the oval casket from Grado was most likely made in Aquileia, *c.*500. To them should be

[1] As exemplified by the Capsella Brivio.

[2] The rather brief iconographical discussion in the recently published book by R. E. Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society in Late Antiquity. Function and Meanings of Silver Plate in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Aldershot, 2004), 97–109, does not attempt to arrive at far-reaching conclusions. In discussing whether the function of the reliquaries influenced their decoration programmes, Leader-Newby asks to what extent the caskets are differentiated from liturgical vessels. She concludes: 'the iconographical relationship between reliquaries and liturgical vessels should not be viewed in isolation. Both types of object are part of the same sacred space around the altar in the church, and repeat elements of the decoration that can also be found on the walls and ceilings of the church. Their decoration arguably articulates the way that their propriety for their function was perceived (or intended to be perceived) by those who used them.'

added the casket from S. Nazaro, investigated by Verana Alborino who suggested Milan *c.*380.[3] With the locations and dates proposed, it becomes clear that the caskets were all conceived in different places and periods to fulfil the same function and deliver the same message, but in different ways, influenced by regional priorities.

The caskets possess decoration programmes of twofold content: local and eschatological. However, the brief overview of all the silver caskets catalogued has shown that those shaped like pocket-sarcophagi or inscribed with martyrs' names were intended to contain relics even when the two criteria, local and eschatological, are not explicitly represented. In contrast, the original reliquary function of figurative decorated caskets whose programmes lack local and eschatological content, and which are not shaped like sarcophagi or are not inscribed with saints' names, can not be definitely assumed.

Whether displaying biblical scenes, martyrs, or symbols, the decoration of the reliquary caskets embodies the notion of salvation to be attained at the end of time. The common eschatological message on the one hand, and the various decoration programmes and stylistic features on the other, show that each reliquary was decorated according to the needs and concepts of its time and place. Each casket thus reflects its association with the social and theological environment and acts as a visual historical source for its date and place. A comparison of the visual evidence with contemporary textual sources shows that the reliquaries not only correlate in time and place with the individuals involved in fostering the early cult of saints but also help to distinguish the local ambitions, and, further, the eschatological intentions of acts and customs surrounding the cult of relics.

Besides being a first-hand testimonial to the cult of saints, the reliquaries are essential to the study of early Christian portable art. Determination of their date and origin indicates a point of reference through which other objects may be dated and their origin traced.[4] They offer a sound base for the study of further reliquaries and other containers of the same period as well as for the group of Byzantine reliquaries which follow them, dated by control stamps substantiating their eastern origin.[5] In addition, the study of reliquaries by means of comparative references to examples of minor and monumental art, reveals indications of changes in monumental art and throws light on artistic activity in Italy from the end of the fourth and throughout the fifth century. At the same time and in the

[3] See Introduction. I agree with the results of her research and they are in accordance with the outcome of my investigation.

[4] See e.g. the discussion on the plate from the Canoscio Treasure in Ch. 2 §B.

[5] One in the Hermitage (from Chersones, Catalogue no. 13) dated to the mid-6th cent., one in Switzerland (Catalogue no. 16) and the third in Museo Sacro (Capsella Vaticana, Catalogue no. 15), see above Ch. 3.

same places, both media appear to use the same language of signs and motifs which point on at least one level of interpretation to the Parousia.

In the context of the cult of relics, it is suggested here, the eschatological level of interpretation can be read in portable liturgical art as well as in monumental art. The reliquaries give a clear visual reflection of a constant undercurrent of apocalyptic thinking and calculation expressed in the form of ceremonies, in the deposition of relics under the altar and of burial next to them, from the second half of the fourth until the beginning of the sixth century in Italy and Gaul.

In this book I have tried to do justice to the importance of portable art: rather than treat the caskets as derivatives of historical events, confining myself to formal similarities or specific iconographical issues, I undertook a broader observation of them as a group, leading to an appreciation of them as reflections, or rather documentations, of their social and theological environment and to the acknowledgement of their substantial place as a self-conscious medium with its own characteristics in the formative period of Christian liturgical art.

This page intentionally left blank

CATALOGUE OF SILVER CASKETS DECORATED WITH CHRISTIAN FIGURATIVE THEMES

There are sixteen known silver caskets decorated with Christian figurative themes. Twelve were recorded in Buschhausen's catalogue (1971) and four more are added here. The caskets are arranged according to the chronology established in the present research. Each is listed with a short description and main bibliography published after Buschhausen appeared. Buschhausen's numbers are given where applicable.

1. Silver casket from the church of S. Nazaro, Milan, *c.*380

Milan, Cathedral Treasury; Buschhausen B11.
The casket was found under the main altar of the church of S. Nazaro in 1894.
Description: Cube shaped casket, 18.5 × 18.5 × 17.5 cm., embossed decoration. A *Maiestas Domini* is depicted on the lid, the body is decorated with four scenes, one on each panel: the Adoration of the Magi on the front, the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace on the back, the Judgement of Solomon and the Judgement of Daniel on the sides. The edges of the body are decorated with a running leaf-pattern.
Figs. 29–30.
Lit: V. Alborino, *Das Silberkästchen von San Nazaro in Mailand,* Habelts Dissertationsdrucke Reihe klassische Archäologie, 13 (Bonn: Habelt, 1981); *Milano capitale dell'impero romano 286–402 d.c., Exhibition Catalogue, Milan, Palazzo Reale 24.1.1990–22.4.1990* (Milan: Silvana, 1990), 122, cat. no. 2a.23c; G. Sena Chiesa and F. Salvazzi, 'La capsella argentea di San Nazaro. Primi risultati di una nuova indagine', *AnTard* 7 (1999), 187–204; R. E. Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society in Late Antiquity. Function and Meanings of Silver Plate in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 104–5.

2. Silver casket from Nea Herakleia, *c.*380

Thessaloniki, Museum of Byzantine Culture; Buschhausen B12.
The casket was found in Nea Herakleia (Macedonia) in 1966.
Description: Square shaped casket, 12.4 × 9.7 × 10 cm. The lid, framed by a vine pattern, is decorated with a large embossed Christogram and the letters Alpha and Omega. The *Traditio legis* is depicted on the front, the Three Hebrews in the

Fiery Furnace on the back, the lateral panels show Daniel in the Lions' Den and Moses receiving the Law.
Figs. 2, 8–11.
Lit: M. Panayotidi and A. Grabar, 'Un Reliquaire paléochrétien récemment découvert près de Thessalonique', *CA* 24 (1975), 33–48; J. Christern in B. Brenk (ed.), *Spätantike und frühes Christentum*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte Suppl. 1 (Frankfurt a. Main: Propyläen, 1977), cat. no. 168; V. Alborino, *Das Silberkästchen von San Nazaro in Mailand,* Habelts Dissertationsdrucke Reihe klassische Archäologie, 13 (Bonn: Habelt, 1981), 140–2; J. Lafontaine Dosogne (ed.), *Splendeur de Byzance, Catalogue of the exhibition held in Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire Bruxelles 2 oct.- 2. déc. 1982* (Brussels: Europalia, 1982), cat. no. O.1; T. F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods, A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), figs. 56, 57; B. Rasmussen, 'Traditio legis?', *CA* 47 (1999), 5–37; E. Kourkoudiou-Nikolaidou, *Salonicco—Storia e Arte, Catalogo della mostra* (Athens, 1986), 42; id., 'Reliquiario', in A. Donati (ed.), *Pietro e Paolo; la storia, il culto, la memoria nei primi secoli* (Milan: Electa, 2000), cat. no. 77; R. E. Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society in Late Antiquity. Function and Meanings of Silver Plate in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 102–4.

3. Octagonal casket from Novalja, last quarter of the fourth century (?)

Zadar, Croatia, Archaeological Museum.
Found on the island of Pag (Croatia) in 1971, in a room that perhaps served as a memorial crypt.
Description: The octagonal body with a pyramid shaped lid ending in a cone is 17.2 cm. high. The lid is decorated with floral candelabra done in relief and the body shows Christ enthroned, accompanied by seven apostles, one on each panel of the octagon. The figures closest to Christ are those of Peter and Paul. The lid and body are bordered by a running leaf pattern.
Lit: B. Ilakovac, 'Unbekannte Funde aus Novalja (Jugoslawien)', in *Atti del IX Congresso internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana Roma 21–27.9.1975,* II (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Areologia Cristiana, 1978), 333–40, fig. 4; V. Alborino, *Das Silberkästchen von San Nazaro in Mailand,* Habelts Dissertationsdrucke Reihe klassische Archäologie, 13 (Bonn: Habelt, 1981), fig. 23; L. Török, 'An Early Christian Silver Reliquary from Nubia', in O. Feld and U. Peschlow (eds.), *Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst F. W. Deichmann Gewidmet* (Bonn: Habelt, 1986), 3. 59–65, pl. 16, fig. 3.

4. Silver casket from Nubia, end of the fourth–beginning of the fifth century

Present whereabouts unknown, possibly Cairo, Archaeological Museum.
Found in the Royal Necropolis of Ballana (Nubia) between 1931 and 1933.
Description: Fragment of an octagonal body and octagonal pyramid shaped lid, 13.2 (diameter) × 20.8 cm. The lid is decorated with embossed floral candelabra, the body with figures of an enthroned Christ and seven apostles (?). Only five of them survived.
Lit: E. W. Emery and L. P. Kirwan, *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul* (Cairo: Government Press, 1938), I. 279, fig. 79, vol. 2, pl. 68; L. Török, 'An Early Christian Silver Reliquary from Nubia', in O. Feld and U. Peschlow (eds.), *Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst F. W. Deichmann Gewidmet* (Bonn: Habelt, 1986), 3.59–65, pl. 16, figs. 1,2.

5. Silver casket from Yabulkovo (Thrace), *c.*400 (?)

Sofia, National Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 2519; Buschhausen B3.
Description: The tiny rectangular casket, 4.5 × 3 × 2.9 cm., is decorated with relief work on all sides. A large gemmed cross is depicted in the centre of the lid; the OMONOIA is inscribed above the horizontal arm. Below the arm, two busts in profile, a man and a woman, flank the shaft of the cross. Once identified as Constantine and Helena (Grabar), or private donor portraits (Buschhausen), the interpretation as a married couple (Dinkler von Schubert; Vikan) seems more convincing. An enthroned Christ decorates the front, flanked by Peter and Paul. Seven additional apostles striding towards Christ are depicted on the lateral panels and the back; their Greek names are inscribed.
Lit: A. Grabar, 'Un Reliquaire provenant de Therace', *CA* 14 (1964), 59–65; E. Dinkler von Schubert, Review of Buschhausen, 1971 in *JbAC* 20 (1977), 215–23, esp. 219; G. Vikan, 'Art and Marriage in Early Byzantium', *DOP* 44 (1990), 149–50; A. Minchev, *Early Christian Reliquaries from Bulgaria (4th–6th century AD)*, *Catalogue of the Exhibition held in Varna Regional Museum of History* (Varna: Izdatelska kǔshta 'Stalker', 2003), cat. no. 25.

6. Silver Casket from Archar, *c.*400 (?)

Sofia, National Museum of History, Inv. no. 46001.
Found in the necropolis of the ancient town Ratiaria, near the village of Archar, district of Vidin.
Description: Only the tall oval lid, 6.4 × 3.8 × 2.8–3.0 cm., with a flat upper part decorated in relief has survived. The relief is divided into two equal framed panels: one represents Mary enthroned with the Christ child on her lap; an

angel moves towards them from the left. The second panel shows two standing saints. All the figures have halos.
Lit: A. Minchev, *Early Christian Reliquaries from Bulgaria (4th–6th century AD)*, *Catalogue of the Exhibition held in Varna Regional Museum of History* (Varna: Izdatelska kǔshta 'Stalker', 2003), cat. no. 28.

7. Capsella Brivio, beginning of the fifth century

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. Bj. 1951; Buschhausen B14.
The casket was probably found in the church of S. Giovanni Battista in Castello Brivio, not far from Como (Lombardy).
Description: Oval casket, 12 × 5.7 × 5.5 cm., embossed decoration. On the lid the scene of the Raising of Lazarus and possibly *Noli me tangere*. The body is decorated with the Adoration of the Magi on the front and the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace on the back. Both rounded corners are decorated with architectural motifs depicting Jerusalem and Bethlehem. A leaf pattern circles the edges of the lid and body.
Figs. 3–6.
Lit: K. Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality, Late Antique and Early Christian Art. Third to Seventh Century*, *Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Nov. 19, 1977 through Feb. 12, 1978* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979), cat. no. 571 (Buschhausen); *Milano capitale dell'impero romano 286–402 d.c.*, *Exhibition Catalogue, Milan, Palazzo Reale 24.1.1990–22.4.1990* (Milan: Silvana, 1990), 350, cat. no. 5b2g; E. Jastrzebowska, *Bild und Wort: das Marienleben und die Kindheit Jesu in der christlichen Kunst vom 4. bis 8. Jh. und ihre apokryphen Quellen*, Ph.D. thesis (Warsaw University, 1992), 243.

8. Silver casket from Pula (Pola, Croatia), beginning of the fifth century

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. VII 760; Buschhausen B20.
The casket was found in the cathedral of Pula in 1860.
Description: Hexagonal casket, H. 12 cm.; each of the six body fields is 8 × 3 cm wide. The lid is decorated with 6 busts, one in each field: Christ is in the centre flanked by Peter, Paul, and possibly Hermagoras, Mark, and Fortunatus. The body carries the same sequence of personages as full-length figures.
Fig. 43.
Lit: H. Swoboda, 'Frühchristliche Reliquiarien des K. K. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinetes', *Mitt. der K. K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und Historischen Denkmale*, new.ser., 16 (1890), 1–22; G. Cuscito, 'I reliquiari paleocristiani di Pola, contributo alla storia delle antichità cristiane in Istria', *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria*, 2nd ser., 20/21 (1972–3), 91–126; K. Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality, Late Antique*

and Early Christian Art. Third to Seventh Century, *Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Nov. 19, 1977 through Feb. 12, 1978* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979), cat. no. 568 (Buschhausen); H. Beck and P. C. Bol, (eds.), *Spätantike und frühes Christentum*, *Ausstellung im Liebieghaus Museum alter Plastik Frankfurt a. Main, 16.12.1983–11.3.1984* (Frankfurt a. Main: Liebieghaus, 1983), cat. no. 172; R. Warland, *Das Brustbild Christi, Studien zur spätantiken und frühbyzantinischen Bildgeschichte*, RQ Suppl., 41 (Rome: Herder, 1986), cat. no. D9; L. Crusvar, 'Capsella cilindrica per reliquie', in S. Tavano and G. Bergamini (eds.), *Patriarchi; Quindici secoli di civilta' fra l'Adriatico e l'Europa centrale* (Milan: Skira, 2000), 105, no. VII.3; R. E. Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society in Late Antiquity. Function and Meanings of Silver Plate in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 98.

9. Capsella Africana, second quarter of fifth century

Vatican, Museo Sacro, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Inv. no. 60859. Buschhausen B15.

The casket was found at Aïn Zirara (Algeria) in 1884.

Description: Oval casket, 11 × 18.5 × 7.5, embossed and engraved decoration. In the centre of the lid a young martyr stands at the source of the four rivers of paradise, flanked by two monumental candlesticks with lighted candles and crowned by the hand of God descending from above. One side shows the lamb of God at the centre of a procession of lambs coming out from two basilica-like structures next to palm trees at the curved ends of the body. On the other side, the centre is occupied by a Christogram resting on a hillock from which again flow the four rivers of paradise. The Christogram is flanked by a deer and a doe, both drinking from the waters. The borders of the lid and body are decorated with a running leaf pattern.

Figs. 7, 44–6.

Lit: U. Utro, 'Capsella africana', in A. Donati (ed.), *Dalla Terra alle genti* (Milano: Electa, 1996), 253–4; A. Effenberger, 'Ovale Pyxis, sog. Capsella Africana', in C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff (eds.), *799; Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III. In Paderborn*, Katalog der Ausstellung Paderborn 1999 (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1999), 2. 646–7; R. E. Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society in Late Antiquity. Function and Meanings of Silver Plate in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 105.

10. Silver casket from Çirga, mid-fifth century (?)

Adana, Archaeological Museum Buschhausen B4.

Found in Çirga in 1957.

Description: Rectangular casket 9.8 × 4 × 4.8 cm with a concave lid, H. 2.8 cm. Embossed decoration. In the centre of the lid a Christogram and the Lamb of God, one above the other, are flanked by Peter and Paul. Various animals and flowers decorate the border of the lid. Both side panels of the gabled lid are decorated with the Lamb of God, a cross above its head. The body front has a medallion between two rectangles. The medallion contains Christ enthroned, accompanied by two figures, and each rectangular frame surrounds a saint standing in orant pose; their names are inscribed, Konon on the right and Thekla on the left. The back is also divided into one medallion and two rectangular frames. In the middle, a cross and the Lamb of God are flanked by Peter and Paul and two female saints in orant pose. The sides both present the same image: a gemmed cross, flanked by busts of a man and woman below the horizontal arms, and two birds above them.
Lit: E. Dinkler von Schubert, Review of Buschhausen, 1971 in *JbAC* 20 (1977), 215–23, esp. 221; G. Vikan, 'Art and Marriage in Early Byzantium', *DOP* 44 (1990), 149–50.

11. Oval silver casket from Grado, *c.*500

Grado, Treasury of S. Eufemia Cathedral; Buschhausen B18.
Found in the S. Eufemia Cathedral in August 1871.
Description: Oval casket, 11.4 × 8.9 × 6.8 cm, embossed and engraved decoration. The lid is decorated with a monumental *crux gemmata* that stands on a hill from which the four rivers of paradise flow; it is flanked by two lambs. The body has eight bust medallions set in two groups: on one side, a youthful Christ between Peter and Paul; on the other side, a female saint between four male saints. There are two fruit-bearing palm trees on the rounded ends. A Latin inscription runs around the body, above and under the medallions. The upper part begins with a cross which is followed by five names of saints: + SAN[C]TVS CANTIVS SAN[CTVS] [CAN] TIANVS SANCTA CANTIANILLA SAN[C]TVS QVIRINUS SAN[C]TVS LATINU. The lower part also begins with a cross, followed by the letter S which belongs to the last name in the upper inscription, thus LATINUS. The names of the donors are inscribed next: +S LAURENTIVS V[IR] S[PECTABILIS] IOANNIS V[IR] S[PECTABILIS] NICEFORVS SAN[C]TIS REDDEDID BOTVM. The borders of the lid and body are decorated with a running leaf pattern.
Figs. 69–72, 84, 93–5.
Lit: P. L. Zovatto, s.v. 'Grado', *RBK* 2 (1971), 924–5; id., *Grado antichi monumenti* (Bologna: Calderini, 1971), 24, figs. 82, 83; E. Cruikshank Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures*, Monographien der Abegg-Stiftung Bern, 9 (Bern: Abegg-Stiftung, 1973), 29; S. Tavano, *Grado guida storica e artistica* (Udine:

Arti grafiche friulane, 1976), 122–6; id. *Aquileia e Grado* (Trieste: LINT, 1986), 357 ff.; R. Warland, *Das Brustbild Christi, Studien zur spätantiken und frühbyzantinischen Bildgeschichte*, RQ Suppl., 41 (Rome: Herder, 1986), cat. no. D10. G. Cuscito, *Die frühchristlichen Basiliken von Grado* (Bologna, 1992), figs. 34, 35; L. Crusvar, 'Capsella ellitica per reliquie', in S. Tavano and G. Bergamini (eds.), *Patriarchi; Quindici secoli di civilta' fra l'Adriatico e l'Europa centrale* (Milan: Skira, 2000), 52–4, cat. no. IV.5.

12. Silver casket from Munich, fifth–sixth centuries

Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Inv. no. 67/1; Buschhausen, B5.
Found in Greece.
Description: Sarcophagus-shaped casket, 6.8 × 6.7 × 4.3 cm., embossed and engraved decoration. The gabled lid is decorated with a cross between two birds on both broad sides and a cross between two circles on each end. The body has a cross flanked by two saints decorated on each broad panel, and a cross flanked by two birds on each side panel.
Lit: R. Kahsnitz, 'Reliquiar', in R. Baumstark, (ed.), *Rom & Byzanz, Schatzkammerstücke aus bayerischen Sammlungen*, Exhibition Catalogue (Munich: Hirmer, 1998), 101–2, no. 12; L. Seelig, 'Silberreliquiar', in: L. Wamser (ed.), *Die Welt von Byzanz—Europa östliches Erbe, Glanz, Krisen und Fortleben einer tausendjährigen Kultur*, Exhibition Catalogue (Munich: Theiss, 2004), 188, cat. no. 249.

13. Silver casket from Chersones, c.565

St Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, Inv. no. × 249; Buschhausen, B21.
Found at the base of an altar in a church at Chersones in 1897.
Description: Sarcophagus-shaped casket, 13 × 11 × 8.5 cm., embossed and engraved decoration. The vaulted, gabled lid is decorated with four crosses, one on each side. The body bears eight bust medallions: on the front Christ flanked by Peter and Paul; on the back Mary flanked by two archangels; there is an additional saint at each end of the casket. There are two sets of four control stamps inside the lid and on the bottom of the casket, dating it to the later part of the reign of Justinian I.
Fig. 79.
Lit: K. Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality, Late Antique and Early Christian Art. Third to Seventh Century*, *Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Nov. 19, 1977 through Feb. 12, 1978* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979), cat. no. 572 (Buschhausen); E. Cruikshank Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures*, Monographien der Abegg-Stiftung Bern, 9 (Bern: Abegg-Stiftung, 1973), 48, 50; A. Effenberger et al., *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Silbergefässe*

ous der Staatlichen Ermitage Leningrad (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1978), cat. no. 8; R. Warland, *Das Brustbild Christi, Studien zur spätantiken und frühbyzantinischen Bildgeschichte*, RQ Suppl., 41 (Rome: Herder, 1986), cat. no. D12; R. E. Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society in Late Antiquity. Function and Meanings of Silver Plate in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 107, fig. 2.29.

14. Silver pyxis from Grado, sixth–seventh centuries

Grado, Treasury of S. Eufemia Cathedral; Buschhausen B19.
Found in S. Eufemia Cathedral in August 1871.
Description: Round pyxis, 6.6 × 8.5 cm.; the decoration on the lid is embossed and engraved with a leaf pattern medallion, enclosing an enthroned figure of Mary, with the Christ child on her lap. Mary holds a sceptre that ends in a cross and her head is encircled with a cruciform halo. The casket body carries a two line engraved inscription: SANC[TA] MARIA SANC[TVS] VITVS SANC[TVS] CASS[I]ANVS SANC[TVS] PANCRATIVS SANC[TVS] YPOLITVS SANC[TVS] APOLLINARIS SANC[TVS] MARTINVS.
Lit: G. Cuscito, 'L'argenteria paleocristiana nella valle del Po', *Antichità altoadriatiche* 4 (1973), 312–13, fig. 12; G. Cuscito, *Die frühchristlichen Basiliken von Grado* (Bologna, 1992), fig. 37; L. Crusvar, 'Capsella cilindrica per reliquie', in S. Tavano and G. Bergamini (eds.), *Patriarchi; Quindici secoli di civilta' fra l'Adriatico e l'Europa centrale* (Milan: Skira, 2000), 105, no. VII.3.

15. Capsella Vaticana, 610–41

Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Museo Sacro, Inv. no. 61039; Buschhausen B16.
Found in the Chapel of Sancta Sanctorum in the Lateran in 1905.
Description: Oval casket, 19.5 × 6.5 × 5.5, embossed and engraved. The lid is decorated with a large *crux gemmata*. Between the arms are a hand of God in the upper left corner, a dove holding a wreath in its beak in the upper right corner and two angels in the lower corners adoring the cross. The body of the casket is decorated with seven bust medallions, two on the front, two at the corners, and three on the back. The central medallion on the back represents the bust of Christ. The rest are probably apostles. A running rope pattern decorates the borders of lid and body.
A set of stamps on the bottom of the casket dates it to the time of Heraclius.
Fig. 80.
Lit: E. Cruikshank Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures*, Monographien der Abegg-Stiftung Bern, 9 (Bern: Abegg-Stiftung, 1973), 48–50, 53; R. Warland, *Das Brustbild Christi, Studien zur spätantiken und frühbyzantinischen Bildgeschichte*,

RQ Suppl., 41 (Rome: Herder, 1986), cat. no. D15; A. Effenberger, 'Ovale Pyxis, sog. Capsella Vaticana', in C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff (eds.), *799; Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III. In Paderborn*, Katalog der Ausstellung Paderborn 1999 (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1999), 2. 648; R. E. Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society in Late Antiquity. Function and Meanings of Silver Plate in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 101–2, figs. 2.24, 2.25.

16. Silver casket from Switzerland, 610–41

Private ownership.
Description: Oval casket, 10.5 × 18.5, embossed and engraved. The lid is decorated with a large cross. Between the arms are four bust medallions of male figures holding books. The body has eight bust medallions, three on each broad side and one at each corner. All the figures hold books except for the two in the central medallion of each broad side, who hold a cross. Perhaps they represent apostles. The borders of the lid and body are decorated with a running rope pattern. A set of control stamps dates the casket to the time of Heraclius.
Lit: H. Beck and P. C. Bol (eds.), *Spätantike und frühes Christentum*, *Ausstellung im Liebieghaus Museum alter Plastik Frankfurt a. Main, 16.12.1983–11.3.1984* (Frankfurt a. Main: Liebieghaus, 1983), cat. no. 171; R. Warland, *Das Brustbild Christi, Studien zur spätantiken und frühbyzantinischen Bildgeschichte*, RQ Suppl., 41 (Rome: Herder, 1986), 66, fig. 72. 278

This page intentionally left blank

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Achelis, H., *Die Katakomben von Neaple* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1936).

Åkerström-Hougen, G., *The Calendar and Hunting Mosaic of the Villa of the Falconer in Argos; A Study in Early Christian Iconography* (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen, 1974).

Alborino, V., *Das Silberkästchen von San Nazaro in Mailand*, Habelts Dissertationsdrucke, Reihe klassische Archäologie, 13 (Bonn: Habelt, 1981).

Alexander, M. A., 'Mosaic Ateliers at Tabarka', *DOP* 41 (1987), 1–11.

Alföldi, A., 'The Helmet of Constantine with the Christian Monogram', *JRS* 22 (1932), 9–23.

—— 'Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhof', *RM* 49 (1934), 3–118.

—— 'Hoc signo victor eris', in T. Klauser and A. Rücker (eds.), *Pisciculi; studien zur religion und kultur des altertums, Franz Joseph Dölger zum sechzigsten geburtstage dargeboten von freunden, verehrern und schülern*, Antike und Christentum Suppl., 1 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1939), 1–18.

Alföldi, M. R., *Die constantinische Goldprägung. Untersuchnung zu ihrer Bedeutung für Kaiserpolitik und Hofkunst* (Mainz: Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz, 1963).

Angenendt, A., 'Der Kult der Reliquien', in A. Legner (ed.), *Reliquien Verehrung und Verklärung, Skizzen und Noten zur Thematik und Katalog zur Ausstellung der Kölner Sammlung Louis Peters in Schnütgen-Museum* (Cologne: Greven & Berchtold, 1989), 9–31.

—— *Heilige und Reliquien; Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Beck, 1994).

Angiolini Martinelli, P., 'Il costume femminale nei mosaici ravennati', *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, 16 (1969), 7–64.

Arbeiter, A., *Alt-St. Peter in Geschichte und Wissenschaft* (Berlin: Mann, 1988).

—— 'Frühe hispanische Darstellungen des Daniel in der Löwengrube', *Boreas*, 17 (1994), 5–12.

—— 'Der Kaiser mit dem Christogrammnimbus zur silbernen Largitionsschale Valentinians in Genf', *AnTard* 5 (1997), 153–67.

Árnason, H. H., 'Early Christian Silver of North Italy and Gaul', *AB* 20/2 (1938), 193–226.

Baradez, J. and Leglay, M., 'La croix-trophée et le reliquiaire d'Aïoun-Berich', *CA* 9 (1957), 73–88.

Baratte, F., 'La vaisselle d'argent dans l'Afrique romaine et byzantine', *AnTard* 5 (1997), 111–32.

—— and Duval, N., *Catalogue des mosaïques romaines et paléochrétiennes du Musée du Louvre* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1978).

Baratte, F., Lang, J., La Niece, S., and Metzger, C., *Le trésor de Carthage: Contribution à l'étude de l'orfèvrerie de l'Antiquité tardive* (Paris: CNRS, 2002).

Bartoccini, R., 'Una capsella marmoreal cristina rinventura in Ravenna', *Felix Ravenna*, 35 (1930), 21–33.

Baumeister, T., s.v. 'Heiligenverehrung I', *RAC* 14 (1988), 96–150.

Baumstark, R. (ed.), *Rom & Byzanz, Schatzkammerstücke aus bayerischen Sammlungen; Katalog zur Ausstellung des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums München, 20. Oktober 1998 bis 14. Februar 1999* (Munich: Hirmer, 1998).

Baus, K., *Der Kranz in Antike und Christentum: eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Tertullians*. Theophaneia, 2 (Bonn: P. Hanstein, 1940).

Beck, H., and Bol, P. C. (eds.), *Spätantike und frühes Christentum, Ausstellung im Liebieghaus Museum alter Plastik Frankfurt a. Main, 16.12.1983–11.3.1984* (Frankfurt a. Main: Liebieghaus, 1983).

Bellucci, A., 'Le catacombe di S. Gaudioso e do S. Eufemia a Napoli', *RACrist* 11(1934), 73–118.

Belting, B., *Likeness and Presence, A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

Belting-Ihm, C., s.v. 'Heiligenbild', *RAC* 14 (1988), 66–96.

Benoit, F., *Sarcophages paléochrétiens d'Arles et de Marseille*, Gallia Suppl. 5 (Paris: CNRS, 1954).

Berger, P. C., *The Insignia of the Notitia Dignitatum* (New York: Garland, 1981).

Bertonière, G., *The Cult Center of the Martyr Hippolytus on the Via Tiburtina*, BAR Intern. Ser. 260 (Oxford: BAR, 1985).

Bisconti, F., 'Il Lucernario di S. Cecilia. Recenti restauri e nuove acquisizioni nella cripta callistiana di S. Cecilia', *RivAC* 73 (1997), 307–39.

—— (ed.), *Temi di iconografia paleocristiana* (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 2000).

Blaauw, S. de, *Cultus et Décor, liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale*, 2 vols. (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994).

Blanchard-Lemée, M. et al., *Mosaics of Roman Africa, Floor Mosaics from Tunisia* (New York: George Braziller, 1996).

Bognetti, G. P. et al., *Vicenza nell'alto Medioevo*. Congresso internazionale dell'arte dell'Alto Medioevo, 8 (Venice: Neri Pozza, 1959).

Bovini, G., 'I mosaici di S. Vittore in ciel d'Oro di Milano', *Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, 16 (1969), 71–80.

—— *Le antichità cristiane fascia costiera istriana da Parenzo a Pola*, (Bologna: Pàtron Editore, 1974).

Boyd, S. A., and Mundell-Mango, M. (eds.), *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate in Sixth-Century Byzantium, Papers of the Symposium held May 16–18, 1986 at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore and Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D. C.* (Washington D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1993).

Bozzi, C., 'La Capsella di Brivio e il suo contributo allo studio della primitiva chiesa plebana di Brivio', *Contributi dell'instituto di archeologia*, 1 (1967), 159–169.

Brandenburg, H., 'Meerwesensarkophage und Clipeusmotiv, Beiträge zur Interpretation römischer Sarkophagreliefs', *JdI* 82 (1967), 195–245.

—— 'Ein frühchristliches Relief in Berlin', *RM* 79 (1972), 123–54.

—— 'Relievi scultorei costantinopolitani dal IV al VI secolo', *Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, 26 (1979), 13–28.

—— 'La scultura a Milano nel IV e V seculo', in C. Bertelli (ed.), *Milano: una capitale da Ambrogio ai Carolingi*, Il Millennio ambrosiano, 1 (Milan: Electa, 1987), 80–129.

—— 'Altar und Grab. Zu einem Problem des Märtyrerkultes im 4. und 5. Jh.', in M. Lamberigts and P. Van Deun (eds.), *Martyrium in Multidisciplinary Perspective, Memorial Louis Reekmans* (Leuven: University Press, 1995), 72–98.

—— *Die Frühchristlichen Kirchen in Rom vom 4. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert. Der Beginn der abenländischen Kirchenbaukunst* (Regensburg: Schnell u. Steiner, 2004).

Braun, J., *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung, 1: Arten, Bestanden, Altargrab, Weihe, Symbolik* (Munich: Alte Meister Guenther Koch, 1924).

—— *Die Reliquiare des christlichen Kultes und ihre Entwicklung* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1940).

Brekelmans, A. J., *Martyrerkranz; Eine symbolgeschichtliche Untersuchung in frühchristlichem Schrifttum*, Analecta Gregoriana, 150 (Rome: Univ. Gregoriana, 1965).

Brenk, B., 'Zwei Reliefs des späten 4. Jahrhunderts', *Acta ad Archeologiam at Artium Historiam Pertinentina*, 4 (1969), 51–60.

—— 'Ein Scheinsarkophag im Metropolitan Museum in New York', in V. Milojcic (ed.), *Kolloquium über spätantike und frühmittelalterliche Skulptur* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1970), vol. 2, 43–53.

—— *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1975).

—— (ed.), *Spätantike und frühes Christentum*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte Suppl., 1 (Frankfurt a. Main: Propyläen, 1977).

—— 'The Imperial Heritage of Early Christian Art', in K. Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality, A Symposium* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 39–52.

Brinken, A.–D. van der, *Studien zur lateinischen Weltchronik bis in das Zeitalter Ottos von Freising* (Düsseldorf: Triltsch, 1957).

Brown, P., *Augustine of Hippo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

—— *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

Brubaker, L., 'The Chalke Gate, the Construction of the Past, and the Trier Ivory', *BMGS* 23 (1999), 258–85.

Bruyne, L. de, 'La décoration des baptistères paléochrétiens', *Atti del V Congresso internazionale di Archeologia cristiana, Aix-en-Provance, 1954,* Studi di antichità cristiana, 22 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Areologia Cristiana, 1957), 351–2.

Buddensieg, T., 'Le coffret en ivoire de Pola, Saint-Pierre et le Latran', *CA* 10 (1959), 157–200.

Bühl, G., *Constantinopolis und Roma, Stadtpersonifikationen der Spätantike* (Zurich: Akanthus, 1995).

—— 'Eastern or Western?—that is the Question. Some Notes on the New Evidence Concerning the Eastern Origin of the Halberstadt Diptych', *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Partinentia*, 15 (2001), 193–203.

Bultmann, R., *The Gospel of John, a Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971).

Buora, M. et al., *La Sculptura nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia*, vol. 1 (Fiume Veneto: Grafiche editoriali artistiche pordenonesi, 1988).

Buschhausen, H., 'Frühchristliches Silberreliquiar aus Isaurien', *JÖBG* 11–12 (1962/3), 137–68.

—— *Die spätrömischen Metallscrinia und frühchristlichen Reliquiare*, *vol.* 1: Catalogue, Wiener Byzantinische Studien, 11 (Vienna: Böhlau, 1971).

—— and Lenzen, H., 'Ein konstantinisches Silberreliquiar aus Jabalkovo in Bulgarien', *JÖBG* 14 (1965), 157–206.

Cacchelli, C., *Il tesoro del Laterano*, Dedalo, 7 (Milan: 1926).

Cameron, Al., 'The Date and the Owners of the Esquiline Treasure', *AJA* 89 (1985), 135–45.

Cameron, Av., 'Remaking the Past', in G. W. Bowersock, P. Brown, and O. Grabar (eds.), *Interpreting Late Antiquity. Essays on the Postclassical World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1–20.

Carletti, C., 'Sull'iconographia die tre Giovani ebrei di Babilonia di fronte a Nabouchodonosor', *Anticità Altoadriatiche*, 6 (1974), 17–30.

Cavallo, G. Gribomont, J., and Loerke, W. C. (eds.), *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis, Museo dell'Arcivescovado, Rossano Calabro. Commentarium*, Codices selecti phototypice impressi Facsimile, 81 (Rome: Salerno, 1987).

Christe, Y., 'A propos du décor absidal de Saint-Jean du Lateran à Rome', *CA* 20 (1970), 197–206.

—— *La vision de Matthieu (Matth. XXIV-XXV). Origines et développement d'une image de la Seconde Parousie*, Bibliothèque de cahiers archéologique, 10 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1973).

—— 'Apocalypse et *Traditio legis*', *RQ* 71 (1976), 42–55.

Christern, J., *Das frühchristliche Pilgerheiligtum von Tebessa; Architektur und Ornamentik einer spätantiken Bauhütte in Nordafrika* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1976).

Clark, G., 'Victricius of Rouen: Praising the Saints', *JECS* 7/3 (1999), 365–99.

—— 'Translating Relics: Victricius of Rouen and Fourth-Century Debate', *Early Medieval Europe*, 10/2 (2001), 161–76.

Clauss, M., *Kaiser und Gott, Herrscherkult im römischen Reich* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1999).

Clover, M., 'Felix Carthago', *DOP* 40 (1986), 1–50.

Cormack, R., 'The Visual Arts', in A. Cameron et al. (eds.), *Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, A.D. 425–600*, Cambridge Ancient History, 14 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 884–917.

Cox Miller, P., 'Differential Networks: Relics and Other Fragments in Late Antiquity', *JECS* 6 (1998), 113–38.

—— ' "The Little Blue Flower is Red": Relics and the Poetizing of the Body', *JECS* 8/2 (2000), 213–36.

—— 'Visceral Seeing: The Holy Body in Late Ancient Christianity', *JECS* 12/4 (2004), 391–411.

Cruikshank Dodd, E., *Byzantine Silver Stamps*, DOS 7 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1961).

—— *Byzantine Silver Treasures*, Monographien der Abegg-Stiftung Bern, 9 (Bern: Abegg-Stiftung, 1973).

—— 'The Location of Silver Stamping: Evidence from Newly Discovered Stamps', in Boyd and Mango (eds.), *Ecclesiastical Silver*, 217–23.

Cumont, F., 'L'adoration des mages et l'art triomphal de Rome', *MemPontAcc* 3 (1932/33), 81–105.

Cuscito, G., 'I reliquiari paleocristiani di Pola, contributo alla storia delle antichità cristiane in Istria', *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria*, 2nd ser., 20/21 (1972–3), 91–126.

—— 'L'argenteria paleocristiana nella valle del Po', *Antichità altoadriatiche*, 4 (1973), 295–317.

—— *Die frühchristlichen Basiliken von Grado* (Bologna: La Fotocromo Emiliana, 1992).

—— *Martiri cristiani ad Aquileia e in Istria, Documenti archeologici e questioni agiografiche* (Udine: Del Bianco, 1992).

—— 'Parenzo nell'enciclopedia dell'arte medievale', *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria*, 99 (1999), 479–500.

Daley, B. E., *The Hope of the Early Church, A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

—— 'Apocalypticism in Early Christian Theology', in B. McGinn (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism* (New York: Continuum, 1998), vol. 2, 3–47.

Daniélou, J., s.v. 'Daniel', *RAC* 3 (1956), 575–85.

—— *From Shadows to Reality, Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers* (London: Burns & Oates, 1960).

Darmstädter, R., *Die Auferweckung des Lazarus in der altchristlichen und byzantinischen Kunst*, Ph.D. thesis (University of Bern, 1955).

Dassmann, E., 'Das Apsismosaic von S. Pudentiana in Rom; philosophische, imperiale und theologische Aspekte in einem Christusbild am Beginn des 5. Jahrhunderts', *RQ* 65 (1970), 67–81.

—— 'Ambrosius und die Märtyrer', *JbAC* 18 (1975), 49–68.

—— 'Epiphanie und die heiligen Drei Könige', in *Die heiligen Drei Könige—Darstellung und Verehrung, Katalog zur Ausstellung des Wallraf-Richartz-Museums in der Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle Köln 1.12.1982–30.1.1983* (Cologne: Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, 1982), 16–19.

Deckers, J. G., 'Die Huldigung der Magier in der Kunst der Spätantike', in *Die heiligen Drei Könige—Darstellung und Verehrung, Katalog zur Ausstellung des Wallraf-Richartz-Museums in der Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle Köln 1.12.1982–30.1.1983* (Cologne: Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, 1982), 20–32.

—— 'Constantin und Christus. Das Bildprogramm in Kaiserkulträumen und Kirchen', in Beck and Bol (eds.), *Spätantike und frühes Christentum*, 267–83.

—— 'Vom Denker zum Diener, Bemerkungen zu den Folgen der konstantinischen Wende im Spiegel der Sarkophagplastik', in B. Brenk (ed.), *Innovation in der Spätantike. Kolloquium Basel 6. und 7. Mai 1994* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1996), 137–85.

Deckers, J. G., Mietke, G., and Weiland, A., *Die Katakombe 'Commodilla' Repertorium der Malereien*, Roma sotterranea cristiana, 10 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Instituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1994).

Deckers, J. G., Seeliger, H. R., and Mietke, G., *Die Katakombe 'Santi Marcellino e Pietro' Repertorium der Malereien*, Roma sotterranea cristiana, 6 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Instituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1987).

Deichmann, F. W., *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, vol. 3: *Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna* (Baden-Baden: B. Grimm, 1958).

—— 'Zur Bedeutung des Christogramm-Kreuzes im Baptisterium von Neapel', *BZ* 61 (1965), 302.

—— *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, vol. 1: *Geschichte und Monumente* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1969).

—— 'Märtyrerbasilika, Martyrion, Memoria und Altargrab', *RM* 77 (1970), 144–69.

—— *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, vol. 2: *Kommentar*, Teil 1–3 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1974, 1976, and 1989).

—— 'Der Hof der gotischen Könige zu Ravenna', in idem, *Rom, Ravenna, Konstantinople, Naher Osten; Gesammelte Studien zur spätantiken Architektur, Kunst und Geschichte* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1982), 469–78.

Delbrück, R., *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1929).

—— 'Das fünfteilige Diptychon in Mailand (Domschatz)', *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 151 (1951), 96–107.

—— *Probleme der Lipsanothek in Brescia* (Bonn: P. Hanstein, 1952).

Delehaye, H., *Les Origines du culte des martyrs*, Subsidia Hagiographica, 20 (Brussels: Société des bollandistes, 1933).

Dimitrov, D. P., 'Le pitture murali del sepolcro romano di Silistra', *Arte Antica e Moderna*, 12 (1960), 351–65.

—— *The Late Roman Tomb near Silistra* (Sofia: Bûlgarski khudozhnik, 1986).

Dinkler, E., *Das Apsismosaik von S. Apollinare in Classe* (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1964).

—— 'Das Kreuz als Siegeszeichen', *ZfTK* 62 (1965), 3–20.

—— *Der Einzug in Jerusalem: Ikonographische Untersuchungen in Anschluss an ein bisher unbekanntes Sarkophagfragment* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1970).

—— and Dinkler von Schubert, E., s.v. 'Kreuz I', *RBK* 5 (1995), 1–219.

Dinkler von Schubert, E., s.v. 'Fluss II (ikonographisch)', *RAC* 8 (1972), 73–100.

—— Review of H. Buschhausen, *Die spätrömischen Metallscrinia und frühchristlichen Reliquiare*, in *JbAC* 20 (1977), 215–23.

Dölger, F. J., *Ichtys, die Fisch-Denkmäler in der frühchristlichen Plastik Malerei und Kleinkunst*, 4 vols. (Münster: Aschendorff, 1928).

Domagalski, B., *Der Hirsch in spätantiker Literatur und Kunst*, JbAC Suppl., 15 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1990).

Donati, A. (ed.), *Pietro e Paolo; la storia, il culto, la memoria nei primi secoli* (Milan: Electa, 2000).

Donceel-Voûte, P., *Les Pavements des églises byzantines de Syrie et du Liban; décor, archéologie et liturgie*, Publications d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie de l'Université catholique de Louvain, 69/1–2 (Louvain: Département d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art College Erasme, 1988).

Dresken-Weiland, J., *Reliefierte Tischplatten aus theodosianischer Zeit*, Studi di Antichità Cristiana, 44 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1991).

—— 'Ein oströmischer Sarkophag in Marseille', *RQ* 92 (1997), 1–17.

—— 'Überlegungen zur weströmischen Plastik des späten 5. und 6. Jh.', *Acta XIII Congressus internationalis archaeologiae christianae Split—Poreč 1994*, Studi di Antichità Cristiana, 54 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1998), 283–300.

—— *Sarkophagbestattungen des 4–6. Jahrhunderts im Westen des Römischen Reiches*, RQ Suppl., 55 (Rome: Herder, 2003).

—— Review of C. B. Tkacz, *The Key to the Brescia Casket: Typology and Early Christian Imagination*, in *BZ* 97/1 (2004), 187–8.

Drocourt-Debreuil, G., *Saint Victor de Marseille, art funéraire et prière des morts aux temps paléochrétiens (IVe-Ve siècles)* (Marseille: Atelier du patrimoine de la Ville de Marseille, 1989).

Dulaey, M., 'Les trois Hébreux dans la fournaise (Dan 3) dans l'interprétation symbolique de l'église ancienne', *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 71 (1997), 33–59.

—— 'Jérôme "éditeur" du Commentaire sur l'Apocalypse de Victorin de Poetovio', *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 37 (1991), 199–236.

Dunbabin, K. M. D., *The Mosaics of Roman Africa; Studies in Iconography and Patronage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

—— 'The Victorious Charioteer on Mosaics and Related Monuments', *AJA* 86 (1982), 65–89.

Duval, N., 'Les mosaïques funéraires de l'Enfinda et la chronologie des mosaïques funéraires de Tunisie', *RACrist* 50 (1974), 145–74.

—— *La Mosaïque funéraire dans l'art paléochrétien*, Antichità, archeologia, storia dell'arte (Ravenna: Longo, 1976).

Duval, Y., *Loca Sanctorum Africae, le culte des martyrs en Afrique du IVe au VIIe siècle*, Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome, 58 (Rome: Ecole française, 1982).

—— *Auprès des saints corps et âme l'inhumation 'ad sanctos' dans la chrétienté d'Orient et d'Occident du IIIe au VIIe siècle* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1988).

Eberlein, J. K., *Apparitio regis—revelatio veritatis. Studien zur Darstellung des Vorhangs in der bildenden Kunst von der Spätantike bis zum Ende des Mittelalters* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1982).

Effenberger, A., *Das Museum für spätantike und byzantinische Kunst* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1992).

—— 'Das Berliner Mosesrelief. Fragment einer Scheinsarkophag-Front', in G. Koch (ed.), *Grabeskunst der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1993), 237–259.

—— 'Vom Zeichen zum Abbild—Frühzeit christlicher Kunst', in M. Brandt and A. Effenberger (eds.), *Byzanz; die Macht der Bilder*, *Katalog zur Ausstellung im Dom- Museum Hildesheim* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1998), 14–39.

—— 'Das Theodosius–Missorium von 388. Anmerkungen zur politischen Ikonographie in der Spätantike', in C. Sode and S. Takács (eds.), *Novum Millennium, Studies on Byzantine History and Culture dedicated to Paul Speck* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 97–108.

Effenberger, A. et al., *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Silbergefässe aus der Staatlichen Ermitage Leningrad* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1978).

Elbern, V. H., 'Ein christliches Kultgefäss aus Glas in der Dumbarton Oaks Collection', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 4 (1962), 17–41, Rep. in idem, *Fructus Operis*, II (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2003), 195–219.

—— 'Ein langobardisches Altarreliquiar in Trient', in *Festschrift Hermann Fillitz*, Achener Kunstblätter, 60 (1994), 45–52.

Emery, E. W., and Kirwan, L. P., *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul*, 2 vols. (Cairo: Government Press, 1938).

Emminghaus, J. H., s.v. 'Brandeum', *LexMA* II (1983), 563–4.

Engemann, J., 'Anmerkungen zu spätantiken Geräten des Alltagsleben mit christlichen Bildern, Symbolen und Inschriften', *JbAC* 15 (1972), 154–73.

—— Review of H. Buschhausen, *Die spätrömischen Metallscrinia und frühchristlichen Reliquiare*, in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 173 (1973), 554–7.

—— 'Palästinensische Pilgerampullen im F. J. Dölger-Institut in Bonn', *JbAC* 16 (1973), 5–27.

—— *Untersuchungen zur Sepulkralsymbolik der späteren römischen Kaiserzeit*, JbAC Suppl., 2 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1973).

—— 'Zu den Apsis-Tituli des Paulinus von Nola', *JbAC* 17 (1974), 21–46.

—— 'Auf die Parusie Christi hinweisende Darstellungen in der frühchristliche Kunst', *JbAC* 19 (1976), 139–56.

—— 'Zu den Dreifaltigkeitsdarstellungen der frühchristlichen Kunst: Gab es im 4. Jahrhundert anthropomorphe Trinitätsbilder?' *JbAC* 19 (1976), 157–72.

—— 'Eine spätantike Messingkanne mit Zwei Darstellungen aus der Magiererzählung in F. J. Dölger-Institut in Bonn', in *Vivarium, Festschrift Theodor Klauser zum 90 Geburtstag*, JbAC Suppl., 11 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1984), 115–31.

—— 'Zur Position von Sonne und Mond bei Darstellungen der Kreuzigung Christi', in O. Feld and U. Peschlow (eds.), *Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst F. W. Deichmann Gewidmet* (Bonn: Habelt, 1986), vol. 3, 95–101.

—— 'Ein Missorium des Anastasius, Überlegungen zum ikonographischen Programm der "Anastasius"—Platte aus dem Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial', in M. Restle (ed.), *Festschrift für K. Wessel zum 70. Geburtstag* (Munich: Ed. Maris, 1988), 103–115.

—— s.v. 'Herrscherbild', *RAC* 14 (1988), 966–1047.

—— s.v. 'Gesetzübergabe', *LexMA* 4 (1989), 1391–1392.

—— s.v. 'Heilige, III. Heiligendarstellung und–attribute: I. Frühchristentum', *LexMA* 4 (1989), 2017.

—— s.v. 'Martyrium, B. Archäologie, Ikonographie', *LexMA* VI (1993), 356–357.

—— s.v. 'Reliquiar, I. Frühchristentum', *LexMA* VII (1995), 699.

—— s.v. 'Reliquiengrab', *LexMA* VII (1995), 704–5.

—— s.v. 'Imago Clipeata', *RAC* XVII (1996), 1016–41.

—— *Deutung und Bedeutung frühchristlicher Bildwerke* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1997).

—— 'Zur Interpretation der Darstellungen der Drei Jünglinge in Babylon in der frühchristlichen Kunst', in G. Koch (ed.), *Sarkophag-Studien II*, 81–97.

—— 'Palästinische frühchristliche Pilgerampullen; Erstveröffentlichungen und Berichtigungen', *JbAC* 45 (2002), 153–69.

Engemann, J. and Rüger, C. (eds.), *Spätantike und frühes Mittelalter: Ausgewählte Denkmäler im Rheinischen Landesmuseum Bonn* (Bonn: Rheinland, 1991).

Ensoli, S. and Le Rocca, E. (eds.), *Aurea Roma dalla città pagana alla città cristiana* (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 2000).

Farioli Campanati, R., 'Jerusalem and Bethlehem in the Iconography of Church Sanctuary Mosaics', in M. Piccirillo and E. Alliata (eds.), *The Madaba Map Centenary 1897–1997, Traveling Through the Byzantine Umayyad Period*, Proceedings of the International Conference held in Amman, 7–9 April 1997 (Jerusalem: Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 1999), 173–7.

Fasola, U. M., *Le Catacombe di S. Gennaro a Capodimonte* (Rome: Editalia, 1975).

Feldbusch, H., s.v. 'Christusmonogramm', *RDK* III (1954), 707–20.

Ferrua, A., *Epigrammata Damasiana recensuit et adnotavit*, Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane, 2 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Instituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1942).

Février, A., 'Les quatres fleuves du paradis', *RivAC* 32 (1956), 179–99.

Finney, P. C., *The Invisible God: The Earliest Christians on Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).
—— 'Do You Think God is a Magician?', in G. Koch (ed.), *Sarkophag-Studien II*, 99–108.
Fiocchi Nicolai, V., Bisconti, F., Mazzoleni, D., *Roms christliche Katakomben: Geschichte—Bilderwelt—Inschriften* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 1998).
—— *Strutture funerarie ed edifici di culto paleocristiani di Roma dal IV al VI secolo*, Studi ricerche, Pubblicati a cura della Pontificia commissione di archeologia sacra, 3 (Città del Vaticano: IGER, Istituto grafico editoriale romano, 2001).
Foerster, G., 'Lohamei Hagetaot: Tombe byzantine', *Revue Biblique*, 78 (1971), 586.
—— 'Painted Tomb near Kibbutz Lochamey Hageta'ot', in M. Yedaya (ed.), *The Western Galilee Antiquities* (Tel Aviv: Ministery of Defense, 1986), 416–29 (in Hebrew).
Frazer, A., 'The Cologne Circus Bowl: Basileos Helios and the Cosmic Hippodrome', in L. Freeman Sandler (ed.), *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann*, Marsyas, Suppl. 1 (New York: Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1964), 105–13.
Frerich, S., 'Zur Deutung der Szene >Frau vor Christus< auf frühchristlichen Sarkophagen', in *Stimuli, Festschrift für E. Dassmann*, JbAC Suppl., 23 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1996), 557–74.
Gagé, J., s.v. 'Fackel (Kerze)', *RAC* 7 (1966–67), 154–217.
Galavaris, G., *Bread and the Liturgy: The Symbolism of Early Christian and Byzantine Bread Stamps* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970).
Giovagnoli, E., 'Il tesoro eucaristico di Canoscio', *RivAC* 12 (1935), 313–28.
—— *Il tesoro eucaristico di Canoscio* (Città di Castello: Leonardo da Vinci 1940).
Gnilka, C., 'Der Gabenzug der Städte bei der Ankunft des Herrn. Zu Prudentius, Peristephanon 4,1–76', in H. Keller and N. Staubach (eds.), *Iconologia Sacra Mythos, Bildkunst und Dichtung in der Religions- und Sozialgeschichte Alteuropas. Festschrift für K. Hauck zum 75. Geburtstag* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994), 25–67.
Grabar, A., 'Un Médaillon en or provenant de Marsine en Cilicie', *DOP* 6 (1951), 27–49.
—— *Ampoules de Terre Sainte, Monza-Bobbio* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1958).
—— 'Un Reliquaire provenant de Therace', *CA* 14 (1964), 59–65.
—— 'A propos des mosaïques de la coupole de Saint-Georges à Salonique', *CA* 17 (1967), 59–81.
—— *Martyrium; Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*, 2 vols. (Paris: Collège de France, 1946), (Variorum rep. 1972).
Graeven, H., 'Ein altchristlicher Silberkasten', *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst,* 12 (1899), 1–16.
Gsell, S., *Musée de Tébessa* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1902).
Guarducci, M., *La Capsella eburnea di Samagher. Un cimelio di arte paleocristiana nella storia del tardo Imperio* (Trieste: Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria, 1978).
Gussone, N., 'Adventus-Zeremoniell und Translation von Reliquien, Victricius von Rouen *De laude sanctorum*', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 10 (1976), 125–33.
Hanfmann, G. M. A., *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks*, DOS 2 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951).
Haskins, S., *Mary Magdalen. Myth and Metaphor* (London: HarperCollins, 1993).
Heid, S., *Kreuz Jerusalem Kosmos; Aspekte frühchristlicher Staurologie*, JbAC Suppl., 31 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2001).
—— '*Vexillum Crucis*. Das Kreuz als Religions-, Missions- und Imperialsymbol in der frühen Kirche', *RivAC* 78 (2002), 191–259.
Heinze, H. von, 'Concordia Apostolorum, Eine Bleitessera mit Paulus und Petrus', in C. Andresen and G. Klein (eds.), *Theologia Crucis—Signum Crucis. Festschrift für E. Dinkler zum 70. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1979), 201–36.
Heinzelmann, M., *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979).

Hellemo, G., *Adventus Domini. Eschatological Thought in 4th-Century Apses and Catecheses*, Vigiliae Christianae Suppl., 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1989).

Henten, J. W. van, 'The Martyrs as Heroes of the Christian People: Some Remarks on the Continuity between Jewish and Christian Martyrology, with Pagan Analogies', in M. Lamberigts and P. van Deun (eds.), *Martyrium in Multidisciplinary Perspective: Memorial Louis Reekmans* (Leuven: University Press, 1995), 318–22.

—— *The Maccabean Martyrs as Saviors of the Jewish People: A Study of 2 and 4 Maccabees,* Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period, Suppl., 57 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 8–13.

—— 'Daniel 3 and 6 in Early Christian Literature', in J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint (eds.), *The Book of Daniel Composition and Reception* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), vol. 1, 149–69.

Hermann, A., s.v. 'Durst', *RAC* 4 (1959), 389–415.

Heurgon, J., *Le Trésor de Ténès* (Paris: Arts et me'tiers graphiques, 1958).

Hinks, R. P., *Catalogue of the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Paintings and Mosaics in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1933).

Holum, K. G., and Vikan, G., 'The Trier Ivory, Adventus Ceremonial, and the Relics of St. Stephen', *DOP* 33 (1979), 115–33.

Humphries, M., *Communities of the Blessed: Social Environment and Religious Change in Northern Italy, AD 200–400* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Hunt, D., 'The Church as Public Institution', in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 13 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 238–76.

Hunt, E. D., 'The Traffic of Relics', in S. Hackel (ed.), *The Byzantine Saint; University of Birmingham Fourteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine studies* (London: Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, 1981), 171–9.

Hunter, D. G., 'Vigilantius of Calagurris and Victricius of Rouen: Ascetics, Relics, and Clerics in Late Roman Gaul', *JECS* 7 (1999), 401–30.

Huskinson, J. M., *Concordia Apostolorum: Christian Propaganda at Rome in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries*, BAR Intern. Ser., 148 (Oxford: BAR, 1982).

Ihm, C., *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1960; repr. Stuttgart: 1992).

Ilakovac, B., 'Unbekannte Funde aus Novalja (Jugoslawien)', in *Atti del IX Congresso internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana Roma 21–27.9.1975,* II (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Areologia Cristiana, 1978), 333–40.

Ilg, A., 'Fund in Grado', *Mitteilungen der K. K. Central Commision zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*, 18 (1873), 83–4.

Immerzeel, M., 'Quelques remarques sur l'origine des sarcophages paléochrétiens en Provence. Marbre, perçoir et style', in *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie Bonn 22.-28 September 1991*, JbAC Suppl., 20/2 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1995), 855–63.

Irshai, O., 'Dating the Eschaton: Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Calculations in Late Antiquity', in A. Baumgarten (ed.), *Apocalyptic Time*, Numen Book Series: Studies in the History of Religions, 86 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 113–153.

Irwin, K. M., *The Liturgical and Theological Correlations in the Association of Representations of the Three Hebrews and the Magi in the Christian Art of Late Antiquity*, Ph.D. thesis (Berkeley, 1985).

Israeli, Y., and Mevorah, D. (eds.), *Cradle of Christianity* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 2000).

Jastrzebowska, E., *Bild und Wort: das Marienleben und die Kindheit Jesu in der christlichen Kunst vom 4. bis 8. Jh. und ihre apokryphen Quellen*, Ph.D. thesis (Warsaw University, 1992).

Jeremias, G., *Die Holztür der Basilika S. Sabina in Rom* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1980).

Kähler, H., *Die Stiftermosaiken in der konstantinischen Südkirche von Aquileia* (Cologne: Dumont Schauberg, 1962).
Kantorowicz, E. H., 'The "Kings Advent" and the enigmatic panels in the doors of Santa Sabina', *AB* 26 (1944), 207–31.
Katzenellenbogen, A., 'The Sarcophagus in S. Ambrogio and St. Ambrose', *AB* 29 (1947), 249–59.
Kehrer, H., *Die Heiligen Drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst*. 2 vols. (Leipzig: Seemann, 1908/9; repr. Hildesheim, 1976).
Kessler, H. L., 'La decorazione della Basilica di San Pietro', in M. D'Onofrio (ed.), *Romei & Giubilei*, 263–70.
Kiilerich, B., *Late Fourth Century Classicism in the Plastic Arts*, Odense University Classical Studies, 18 (Kopenhagen: Odense University press, 1993).
Kirsch, J. P., 'Altchristliches silbernes Reliquiar aus Africa', *RQ* 1 (1887), 389–91.
Kitzinger, E., 'A Pair of Book Covers in the Sion Treasure', in U. E. McCracken et al. (eds.), *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner* (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1974), 3–17.
—— *Byzantine Art in the Making; Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art 3rd–7th Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1977).
Klauser, Th., *Die Cathedra im Totenkult der heidnischen und christlichen Antike* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1927).
—— 'Christliche Märtyrerkult, heidenischer Heroenkult und spätjüdische Heiligenverehrung, neue Einsichten und neue Probleme', *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen Geisteswissenschaften*, 91 (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1960). Repr. in Th. Klauser, *Gesammelte Arbeiten zur Liturgiegeschichte, Kirchengeschichte und christlichen Archäologie*, JbAC Suppl., 3 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1974), 221–8.
—— Frühchristliche Sarcophage in Bild und Wort (Olten: Urs Graf, 1966).
Kleinbauer, W. E., 'The Iconography and the Date of the Mosaics of the Rotunda of Hagios Georgios, Thessaloniki', *Viator*, 3 (1972), 27–107.
—— 'The Original Name and Function of Hagios Georgios at Thessaloniki', *CA* 22 (1972), 55–60.
—— 'The Orants in the Mosaic Decoration of the Rotunda at Thessaloniki: Martyr Saints or Donors?', *CA* 30 (1982), 25–45.
Knipp, D., *'Christus Medicus' in der frühchristlichen Sarkophagskulptur; ikonographische Studien der Sepulkralkunst des späten vierten Jahrhunderts,* Vigiliae Christianae Suppl., 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1998).
Koch, G., 'Ein frühchristliches Reliquiar in Berat', in *Tesserae, Festschrift für J. Engemann*, JbAC Suppl., 18 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1991), 237–40.
—— *Frühchristliche Sarkophage*, Handbuch der Archäologie, 6 (Munich: Beck, 2000).
—— (ed.), *Sarkophag-Studien II. Akten des Symposiums 'Frühchristliche Sarkophage' Marburg 30.6.—4.7.1999* (Mainz: von Zabern, 2002).
Kötzsche-Breitenbruch, L., *Die neue Katakombe an der Via Latina in Rom, Untersuchungen zur Ikonographie der alttestamentlichen Wandmalereien*, JbAC Suppl., 4 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1976).
Kötting, B., 'Endzeitprognosen zwischen Lactantius und Augustinus', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 77 (1958), 123–39.
—— 'Reliquienverehrung, ihre Enstehung und ihre Formen', *Trierer theologische Zeitschrift*, 67 (1958), 321–34.
—— *Der frühchristliche Reliquienkult und die Bestattung im Kirchengebäude*, Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 123 (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1965).

Kollwitz, J., *Die Lipsanothek von Brescia*, Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte, 7 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter & Co., 1933).
—— 'Christus als Lehrer und die Gesetzübergabe an Petrus in der konstantinischen Kunst Roms', *RQ* 44 (1936), 45–66.
—— *Oströmische Plastik der theodosianischen Zeit*, (Berlin: W. de Gruyter & Co., 1941).
—— 'Probleme der theodosianischen Kunst Roms', *RivAC* 39 (1963), 191–233.
Kollwitz, J., and Herdejürgen, H., *Die Ravennatischen Sarkophage*, Die Sarkophage der westlichen Gebiete des Imperium Romanum, 2 (Berlin: Mann, 1979).
Korol, D., 'Zum frühchristlichen Apsismosaik der Bischofskirche von "Capua Vetere" (Ss. Stefano e Agata) und zu zweiten Kirchen dieser Stadt (S. Pietro in Corpo und S. Maria Maggiore)', *Boreas*, 17 (1994), 121–48.
—— 'Ein frühes Zeugnis für ein mit einer neutestamentlichen Szene geschmücktes "Templon"; die Darstellung der Magierhuldigung aus einer Kirche des 5. Jh. in Trani', *JbAC* 39 (1996), 200–24.
Kranz, P., *Jahreszeiten-Sarkophage; Entwicklung und Ikonographie des Motivs der Vier Jahreszeiten auf kaiserlichen Sarkophagen und Sarkophagdeckeln*, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs, 4 (Berlin: Mann, 1984).
Krause, K., 'Darstellungen der Kreuzesverehrung auf palaestinensischen Pilgerampullen', *Mitteilungen zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte*, 2 (2000), 9–51.
Krautheimer, R., *Rome, Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).
—— *Three Christian Capitals* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).
—— *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th edn. (New York: Penguin, 1986).
Kühnel, B., *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem; Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millenium*, RQ Suppl. 42 (Rome: Herder, 1987).
—— *The End of Time in the Order of Things; Science and Eschatology in Early Medieval Art* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2003).
Künzle, P., 'Das Petrus Reliquiare von Samagher', *RQ* 71 (1976), 22–41.
Kulczak-Rudiger, F. M., and Terbuyken, P., s.v. 'Jünglinge in Feuerofen', (A III, V), *RAC* 19 (2001), 346–88.
Lafontaine Dosogne, J. (ed.), *Splendeur de Byzance, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles, 2 octobre—2 décembre 1982* (Brusseles: Europalia, 1982).
Lambot, C., 'Les sermons de Saint Augustine pour les fêtes de martyrs', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 67 (1949), 249–66.
Landes, R., 'Lest the Millennium be Fulfilled: Apocalyptic Expectations and the Pattern of Western Chronography 100–800 CE', in W. Verbeke et al. (eds.), *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, Mediaevalia Lovaniensia 1: XV (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1988), 137–211.
Lassus, J., *Les reliquaires du Musée Stéphane Gsell* (Algiers: Impr. officielle, 1958).
Lauer, P., 'La Capsella de Brivio', *Monuments et Mémoires*, 13 (1906), 229–40.
Lawrence, M., *The Sarcophagi of Ravenna* (New York: College Art Association of America, 1945).
Le Blant, E., *Les Sarcophages chrétiens de la Gaule* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1886).
Leader-Newby, R. E., *Silver and Society in Late Antiquity; Function and Meanings of Silver Plate in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
Leclercq, H., s.v. 'Châsse', *DACL* 3/1 (1913), 1100–44.
—— s.v. 'Kalendaria; VI. Calendrier de Carthage', *DACL* 8/1 (1928), 642–5.
Lehmann, T., 'Der Besuch des Papstes Damasus an der Pilgerstädes Hl. Felix in Cimitile/Nola', *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie, Bonn 22.-28. September 1991*, JbAC Suppl., 20/2 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1995), 969–81.

Lehmann, T., *Paulinus Nolanus und die Basilica Nova in Cimitile/Nola; Studien zu einem zentralen Denkmal der spätanik-frühchristlichen Architektur*, Spätantike—Frühes Christentum—Byzanz. Kunst im ersten Jahrtausend. Studien und Perspektiven, 19 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004).

—— 'I mosaici nelle aule teodoriane sotto la basilica patriarcale: status quaestionis', *Antichità Altoadriatiche* 2006, XXXVI Settimana di Studi Aquileiesi, Aquileia 18–21 maggio 2005 (Trieste: Editreg SRL, 2007), 25–44.

Lohmeyer, E., s.v. 'A und O', *RAC* 1 (1950), 1–4.

Lowden, J., *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (London: Phaidon, 1997).

Luneau, A., *L'Histoire du salut chez les pères de l'eglise, la doctrine de s ages du monde* (Paris: Beauchesne et ses fils, 1964).

MacCormack, S., 'Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity: The Ceremony of *Adventus*', *Historia*, 21 (1972), 721–52.

—— *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*, The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).

Mackie, G., 'Symbolism and Purpose in an Early Christian Martyr Chapel: The Case of San Vittore in Ciel d'Oro, Milan', *Gesta*, 34/2 (1995), 91–101.

Maier, J.-L., *Le Baptistère de Naples et ses mosaïques, étude historique et iconographique*, Paradosis, 19 (Fribourg: Éditions universitaires, 1964).

Mango, C., 'Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics', *BZ* 83 (1990), 51–61 and Addendum on p. 434.

Mancinelli, F., *The Catacomb of Rome and the Origin of Christianity* (Florence: Scala, 1998).

Marcenaro, M., *Il Battistero paleocristiano di Albenga* (Recco: Le Mani, 1993).

Markus, R. A., *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

—— *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

—— 'How on Earth could Places become Holy?', *JECS* 2/3 (1994), 257–71.

Martin, J. P., 'History and Eschatology in the Lazarus Narrative; John 11.1–44', *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 17 (1964), 332–43.

Marucchi, O., 'Il simbolismo della cattedra negli antichi monumenti cristiani sepolcrali ed una scena relativa a questo simbolo in un monumento entrato ora nel Museo Cristiano lateranense', *RACrist* 6 (1929), 359–67.

Mathews, T. F., *The Clash of Gods, A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

McGinn, B., *Visions of the End* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).

McLynn, N. B., *Ambrose of Milan; Church and Court in a Christian Capital*, Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 22 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

Meischner, J., 'Das Porträt der theodosianischen Epoche I (380 bis. 405 n. Christ)', *JdI* 105 (1990), 303–24.

—— 'Das Porträt der theodosianischen Epoche II (400 bis 460 n. Christ)', *JdI* 106 (1991), 385–407.

—— 'Das Missorium des Theodosius in Madrid', *JdI* 111 (1996), 389–432.

Merkle, S., 'Die ambrosianischen Tituli', *RQ* 10 (1896), 185–222.

Merlin, A. and Poinssot, L., 'Faction du cirque et saisons sur des mosaïques de Tunisie', *Revue Archéologique*, 31 (1949), 732–45.

Michaeli, T., *Wall-Paintings from Roman and Early Byzantine Tombs in Israel*, Ph.D. thesis (Tel-Aviv: 1997), (in Hebrew).

—— 'The Pictorial Program of the Tomb near Kibbutz Or-ha-Ner in Israel', *Assaph Studies in Art History*, 3 (1998), 37–76.

—— 'Funerary Lights in Painted Tombs in Israel: From Paganism to Christianity', forthcoming.

Milano capitale dell'impero romano 286–402 d.c., *Milano, Palazzo Reale, 24 gennaio-22 aprile 1990* (Milan: Silvana, 1990).

Minchev, A., *Early Christian Reliquaries from Bulgaria (4th–6th century AD)* (Varna: Izdatelska kûshta 'Stalker', 2003).

Mirabella Roberti, M., 'La basilica paleocristiana di S. Canzian d'Isonzo', *Aquileia Nostra*, 38 (1967), 61–86.

Molajoli, B., *La Basilica Eufresiana di Parenzo* (Parenzo: G. Greatti, 1940).

Moorsel, P. van, 'Le Sarcophage de Marcia Romania Celsa: un nouveau sujet de divergence d'interprétation?', in E. Dassmann and K. Suso Frank (eds.), *Pietas, Festschrift für B. Kötting*, JbAC Suppl., 8 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1980), 499–508.

Morey, Ch. R., *The Gold-glass Collection of the Vatican Library* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1959).

Mratschek, S., *Der Briefwechsel des Paulinus von Nola; Kommunikation und soziale Kontakte zwischen christlichen Intellektuellen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002).

Mundell-Mango, M., *Silver from Early Byzantium. The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures* (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1986).

—— 'The Purpose and Places of Byzantine Silver Stamping', in Boyd and Mango (eds.), *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate*, 203–15.

Nees, L., 'A Fifth-Century Book Cover and the Origin of the Four Evangelist Symbols Page in the Book of Durrow', *Gesta*, 17 (1978), 3–8.

Nikolasch, F., 'Zur Deutung der Dominus-legem-dat Szene', *RQ* 64 (1969), 35–73.

Nilsson, M. P., 'Lampen und Kerzen im Kult der Antike', in idem, *Opuscula Selecta* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1960), vol. 3, 189–214.

Noga-Banai, G., 'Byzantine Elite Style: The David Plates and Related Works', *Boreas*, 25 (2002), 225–37.

—— 'Capsella Africana: Made in Campania', *Boreas*, 26 (2003), 83–98.

—— 'Visual Prototype Versus Biblical Text: Moses Receiving the Law in Rome', in H. Brandenburg and F. Bisconti (eds.), *Sarcofagi tardoantichi, paleocristiani ed altomedioevali*, Monumenti di antichità cristiana 2nd ser., 18 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 2003), 175–85.

—— 'Workshops with Style: Minor Art in the Making', *BZ* 97 (2004), 531–42.

Onofrio, M. d' (ed.), *Romei e Jubilei il pellegrinaggio medievalea San Pietro (350–1350), Roma, Palazzo Venezia 29 ottobre 1999–26 febbraio 2000* (Milan: Electa, 1999).

O'Rourke-Boyle, M., 'Ireneus' Millennial Hope: A Polemical Weapon', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 36 (1965), 5–16.

Painter, K., 'The Silver Dish of Ardabur Aspar', in E. Herring, R. Whitehouse and J. Wilkins (eds.), *The Archaeology of Power*, Papers of the Fourth Conference of Italian Archaeology (London: Accordia Research Centre, 1991), vol. 2, 73–79.

Paleani, M. T., 'Probabili influssi carmi Damasiani su alcune pitture cimiteriali', in *Saecularia Damasiana; atti del Convegno internazionale per il XVI centenario della morte di Papa Damaso I (11-12-384–10/12-12-1984)* (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1986), 359–87.

Palmer, A.-M., *Prudentius on the Martyrs* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

Panayotidi, M., and Grabar, A., 'Un Reliquaire paléochrétien récemment découvert près de Thessalonique', *CA* 24 (1975), 33–48.

Pariset, P., 'I Mosaici del Battistero di S. Giovanni in Fonte; nello sviluppo della pittura paleocristiana a Napoli', *CA* 20 (1970), 1–13.

Parrish, D., *Season Mosaics of Roman North Africa* (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 1984).
—— s.v. 'Menses', *LIMC* 6 (1992), 479–500.
Pergola, P., and Barbini, P. M., *Le Catacombe romane* (Rome: Carocci, 1997).
Perkams, M., s.v. 'Jünglinge in Feuerofen' (B II), *RAC* 19 (2001), 359–65.
Perraymond, M., 'L'emorroissa e la cananea nell'arte paleocristiana', *Bessarione*, 5 (1986), 147–174.
Piccirilo, M., *Madaba: le chiese e i mosaici* (Torino: Edizioni paoline, 1989).
Pietri, C., *Roma christiana; recherches sur l'Eglise de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (311–440)* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1976).
Pillinger, R., 'Frühchristliche Malerei in der heutigen Volksrepublik Bulgarien (zwischen Orient und Okzident)', in id. (ed.), *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Kultur Bulgariens zwischen Orient und Okzident*, Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiquarische Abteilung, 16 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1986).
Pillinger, R., Popova, V., and Zimmermann, B., *Corpus der spätantiken und frühchristlichen Wandmalereien Bulgariens*, Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiquarische Abteilung, 21 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999).
Poglayen-Neuwall, S., 'Über die ursprünglichen Besitzer des spätantiken Silberfundes vom Esquilin und seine Datierung', *RQ* 45 (1930), 124–36.
Poinssot, L and Lantier, R., 'L'Archéologie chrétienne en Tunisie (1920–1932)', *Atti del III Congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana Ravenna 25–30 settembre 1932* (Rome: Pontificio Instituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1934), 387–410.
Popović, I., 'Les productions officielles et privées des ateliers d'orfèvrerie de Naissus et de Sirmium', *AnTard* 5 (1997), 133–44.
Prelog, M., *Die Eufrasiana Basilica von Poreč*, rev. edn (Zagreb: Buvina, 1994).
Previtali, A., 'Il Martyrion', in F. Barbieri (ed.), *La Basilica dei Santi Felice e Fortunato in Vicenza* (Vicenza: S. Giuseppe, 1979), 69–115.
Pullan, W., 'Jerusalem from Alpha to Omega', in B. Kühnel (ed.), *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art; Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, Jewish Art, 23/24 (Jerusalem: Center for Jewish Art, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1997/8), 407–13.
Ramsey, B., *Ambrose* (London: Routledge, 1997).
Rasmussen, B., 'Traditio legis?', *CA* 47 (1999), 5–37.
Rassart, M. and Baratte, F., 'Trois mosaïques d'époque paléochrétienne au Musée du Louvre', *Monument Piot*, 58 (1973), 43–73.
Rassart-Debergh, M., 'Les Trois Hébreux dans la Fournaise dans l'art paléochrétien. Iconographie', *Byzantion*, 48 (1978), 430–55.
Reutter, U., *Damasus, Bishof von Rom (366–384); Leben und Werk*, Ph.D. thesis (Jena, 1999).
Ristow, S., *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*, JbAC Suppl., 27 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1998).
Roberts, M., *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs; The Liber Peristephanon of Prudentius* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993).
Rodà, I., 'Sarcófagos cristianos de Tarragona', in G. Koch (ed.), *Akten des Symposiums '125 Jahre Sarkophag-Corpus' Marburg, 4.-7. Oktober 1995* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1998), 150–61.
Rossi, G. B. de, 'Secchia di piombo trovata nella Reggenza di Tunisi', *BAC* (1867), 77–87.
—— 'Le insigni capselle reliquiario scoperte in Grado', *BAC* 2nd ser., 5 (1872), 155–8.
—— 'La capsella argentea Africana', *Nuovo Bulletino di Archeologia Cristina*, 5 (1887), 118–29.
—— *Capsella reliquiaria Africana; omaggio della Biblioteca Vaticana a Leone XIII* (Rome: Cugiani, 1889).

Salomonson, J. W., 'Spätrömische rote Tonware mit Reliefverzierung aus nordafrikanischen Werkstätten. Entwicklungsgeschichte Untersuchnungen zur reliefgeschmückten Terra Sigillata «C»', *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving*, 44 (1969), 4–109.

—— 'Kunstgeschichtliche und ikonographische Untersuchungen zu einem Tonfragment der Sammlung Benaki in Athen', *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving*, 48 (1973), 3–74.

—— *Voluptatem spectandi non perdat sed mutet: observations sur l'iconographie du martyre en Afrique* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Pub. Co., 1979).

Salzman, M. R., *On Roman Time: The Codex Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity*, The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 17 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

—— s.v. 'Kalender II (Chronograph von 354)', *RAC* 19 (2001), 1177–91.

Sansoni, R., *I sarcofagi paleocristiani a porte di città*, Studi di Antichità cristiane, 4 (Bologna: R. Pàtron, 1969).

Saxer, V., *Morts, martyrs, reliques en Afrique chrétienne aux premiers siècles* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1980).

—— 'Früher Märtyrerkult in Rom', in W. Ameling (ed.), *Märtyrer und Märtyrerakten* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2002), 47–58.

Schäfer, E., 'Die Heiligen mit dem Kreuz in der altchristlichen Kunst', *RQ* 44 (1936), 67–104.

Schlee, E., *Die Ikonographie der Paradiesflüsse* (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1937).

Schlunk, H., and Hauschild, Th., *Die Denkmäler der frühchristlichen und westgotischen Zeit*, Hispania Antiqua, 5 (Mainz: von Zabern, 1978).

Schmidt, T. M., 'Die drei hebräischen Jünglinge in Ketten', in C. Stiegemann (ed.), *Frühchristliche Kunst in Rom und Konstantinopel; Schätze aus dem Museum für spätantike und byzantinische Kunst Berlin, Katalog der Ausstellung Paderborn 6.12.1996–31.3.1997* (Paderborn: Diözesanmuseum, 1997), 67–79.

Schneider, L., *Die Domäne als Weltbild; Wirkungsstrukturen der spätantiken Bildersprache* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1983).

Schneider, Th. and Stemplinger, E., s.v 'Adler', *RAC* 1, (1950), 87–94.

Schrenk, S., *Typos und Antitypos in der frühchristlichen Kunst*, JbAC Suppl., 21 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1995).

Schumacher, W. N., 'Dominus legem dat', *RQ* 54 (1959), 1–39.

—— 'Eine römische Apsiskomposition', *RQ* 54 (1959), 137–202.

—— *Hirt und 'guter Hirt'*, RQ Suppl., 34 (Rome: Herder, 1977).

Sena Chiesa, G. and Salvazzi, F., 'La capsella argentea di San Nazaro. Primi risultati di una nuova indagine', *AnTard* 7 (1999), 187–204.

Severin, H.-G., 'Oströmische Plastik unter Valens und Theodosius I', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, NS 12 (1970), 210–52.

Sevrugian, P., *Der Rossano-Codex und die Sinope-Fragmente. Miniaturen und Theologie* (Worms: Werner, 1990).

Shelton, K. J., *The Esquiline Treasure* (London: British Museum Publications, 1981).

Sichtermann, H. and Koch, G., *Griechische Mythen auf römischen Sarkophagen* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1975).

Simon, E., s.v. 'Ianus', *LIMC* 5 (1990), 618–22.

Šonje, A., 'I mosaici parietali del complesso architecttonico della basilica Eufresiana a Parenzo', *Atti del centro di ricerche storiche—Rovingo*, 12 (1982–3), 65–138.

Soper, A. C., 'The Latin Style on Christian Sarcophagi of the Fourth Century', *AB* 19 (1937), 148–202.

Sotomayor, M., 'Petrus und Paulus in der frühchristlichen Ikonographie', in Beck and Bol, *Spätantike und frühes Christentum*, 199–210.

St. Clair, A., 'The Basilewsky Pyxis: Typology and Topography in the Exodus Tradition', *CA* 32 (1984), 15–30.
—— 'A New Moses: Typological Iconography in the Moutier-Grandval Bible Illustrations of Exodus', *Gesta*, 26 (1987), 19–28.
Stanley, D., 'The Apse Mosaics at S. Constanza', *RM* 94 (1987), 29–42.
Stern, H., *Le Calendrier de 354* (Beirut: Geuthner, 1953).
—— 'Le décor des pavements et des cuves dans les baptistères paléochrétiens', *Atti del V Congresso internazionale di Archeologia cristiana, Aix-en-Provance, 1954,* Studi di antichità cristiana, 22 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Areologia Cristiana, 1957), 381–390.
Stevens, S. T., Kalinowsky, A. V., and Leest, H. vander, *Bir Ftouha: A Pilgrimage Church Complex at Carthage*, JRA Suppl., 59 (Portsmouth R.I.: JRA 2005).
Stiegemann, C. and Wemhoff, M. (eds.), *799; Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn; Katalog der Ausstellung Paderborn 1999* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1999).
Stommel, E., *Beiträge zur Ikonographie der konstantinischen Sarkophagplastik*, Theophania, 10 (Bonn: P. Hanstein, 1954).
Strzygowsky, J., *Die Calenderbilder des Chronographen vom Jahre 354*, *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Suppl., 1 (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1888).
—— 'Das Berliner Moses Relief und die Thüren von Sta. Sabina in Rom', *Jahrbuch der Königl. Preussischen Kunstsammlung*, 14 (1893), 65–71.
Stuhlfauth, G., 'Zwei Streitfragen der altchristlichen Ikonographie', *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde von der älteren Kirche*, 23 (1924), 48–64.
Swoboda, H., 'Frühchristliche Reliquiarien des K. K. Münz- und Antiken- Cabinetes', *Mitt. der K. K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der kunst- und historischen Denkmale*, NS. 16 (1890), 1–22.
Tavano, S., *Grado guida storica e artistica* (Udine: Arti grafiche friulane, 1976).
—— *Aquileia e Grado* (Trieste: LINT, 1986).
Tavano, S., and Bergamini, G. (eds.), *Patriarchi; Quindici secoli di civilta' fra l'Adriatico e l'Europa centrale* (Milan: Skira, 2000).
Terry, A., 'The *Opus Sectile* in the Eufrasius Cathedral at Poreč', *DOP* 40 (1986), 147–64.
—— and Maguire, H., *Dynamic Splendor: The Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Eufrasius at Poreč* (University Park, PA.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007)
Thraede, K., s.v. 'Ianus', *RAC* 16 (1994), 1259–82.
Thunø, E., *Image and Relic. Mediating the Sacred in Early Medieval Rome* (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 2002).
Tkacz, C. B., *The Key to the Brescia Casket: Typology and Early Christian Imagination* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001).
Török, L., 'An Early Christian Silver Reliquary from Nubia', in O. Feld and U. Peschlow (eds.), *Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst F. W. Deichmann Gewidmet* (Bonn: Habelt, 1986), vol. 3, 59–65.
Torp, H., *Mosaikkene I St. Georg Rotunden I Thessaloniki* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1963).
—— 'Les mosaïques de la Rotonde de Thessalonique: l'arrière-fond conceptual des images d'architecture', *CA* 50 (2002), 3–20.
Toynbee, J. M. C. and Painter, K. S., 'Silver Picture Plates of Late Antiquity: A. D. 300 to 700', *Archaeologia*, 108 (1986), 15–65.
Tronzo, W., *The Via Latina Catacomb: Imitation and Discontinuity in Fourth-Century Roman Painting* (University Park.7 Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986).
Trout, D. E., *Paulinus of Nola, Life, Letters and Poems*, The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 27 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

—— 'Damasus and the Invention of Early Christian Rome', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 33/3 (2003), 517–36.
Turcan, R., s.v. 'Girlande', *RAC* 11 (1981), 1–23.
Tzafrir, Y., 'A Painted Tomb at Or-ha-Ner', *Israel Exploration Journal*, 18 (1968), 170–80.
Utro, U., 'Temi biblici nella collezione di medaglioni vitrei con figure in oro del Museo Cristiano', *Monumenti musei e gallerie pontificie*, 20 (2000), 53–84.
Veganzones, A. R., 'El "Carmen." Paulino de Damaso y la interpretacion de tres escenas pictoricas de la Catacumba de Comodila', in *Saecularia Damasiana; atti del convegno internazionale per il XVI centenario della morte di Papa Damaso I (11–12–384–10/12–12–1984)* (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1986), 323–58.
Vézin, G., *L'Adoration et le cycle des Mages dans l'art chretien primitif; Etude des influences orientales et grecques sur l'art chretien* (Paris: Presses universitaires, 1950).
Vikan, G., *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*, DOS 5 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982).
—— 'Art and Marriage in Early Byzantium', *DOP* 44 (1990), 145–63.
—— *Catalogue of the Sculpture in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection from the Ptolemaic Period to the Renaissance* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1994).
Volbach, W. F., 'Silber- und Elfenbeinarbeiten vom Ende des 4. bis zum Anfang des 7. Jahrhunderts', *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte und Archäologie des Frühmittelalters, Akten zum VII. Internationalen Kongresses für Frühmittelalterforschung, 21.-28.9.*1958 (Graz: H. Böhlaus, 1962), 21–36.
—— 'Silber-, Zinn- und Holzgegenstände aus der Kirche St. Lorenz bei Paspels', *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte,* 23 (1963/4), 75–82.
—— 'Il tesoro di Canoscio', *Ricerche sull'Umbria tardoantica e preromanica; atti del II Convergno di Studi Umbri—Gubbio 1964* (Gubbio: Centro di studi Umbri, 1965), 303–16.
—— *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1976).
Volbach, W. F., and Hirmer, M., *Early Christian Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1961).
Vollkommer, R., s.v. 'Carthago', *LIMC* 3 (1986), 182–4.
Wacker, G., *Die Ikonographie des Daniel in der Löwengrube*, Ph.D. thesis (Marburg, 1954).
Walker Bynum, C., *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).
Wallraff, M., *Christus Verus Sol; Sonnenverehrung und Christentum in der Spätantike*, JbAC Suppl., 32 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2001).
Walsh, P. G., *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola*, Ancient Christian Writers, 36 (New York: Newman Press, 1967).
Wamser, L. (ed.), *Die Welt von Byzanz—Europa östliches Erbe, Glanz, Krisen und Fortleben einer tausendjährigen Kultur; Archäologische Staatssammlung München—Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte München, Begleitbuch zur Ausstellung vom 22.10.2004 bis 3.4.2005* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2004).
Wamser, L. and Zahlhaas, G. (eds.), *Rom und Byzanz archäologische Kostbarkeiten aus Bayern ; Katalog zur Ausstellung der Prähistorischen Staatssammlung München, 20. Okt. 1998 bis 14. Febr. 1999* (Munich: Hirmer, 1998).
Ward Perkins, J. B. 'Memoria, Martyr's Tomb and Martyr's Church', in *Akten des 7. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie Trier 5–11.9.1965*, (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1969), 3–27.
Warland, R., *Das Brustbild Christi, Studien zur spätantiken und frühbyzantinischen Bildgeschichte*, RQ Suppl., 41 (Rome: Herder, 1986).
Watson, C. J., 'The Program of the Brescia Casket', *Gesta*, 20 (1981), 283–98.
Weigand, E., 'Der Monogrammnimbus auf der Tür von S. Sabina in Rom', *BZ* 30 (1929–30), 587–595.
—— 'Zum Denkmälerkreis des Christogrammnimbus', *BZ* 32 (1932), 63–81.

Weigand, E., 'Der Kalenderfries von Hagios Georgios in Thessalonike', *BZ* 39 (1939), 116–45.
Weitzmann, K., 'The Mosaic in St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 110 (1966), 392–405.
—— (ed.), *Age of Spirituality, Late Antique and Early Christian Art. Third to Seventh Century, Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Nov. 19, 1977 through Feb. 12, 1978* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979).
—— (ed.), *Age of Spirituality, A Symposium* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980).
Weitzmann, K., and Kessler, H., *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art*, DOS 28 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990).
Wellen, G. A., *Theotokos; Eine ikonographische Abhandlung über das Gottesmutterbild in frühchristlicher Zeit* (Utrecht: Spectrum, 1961).
Wessel, K., s.v. 'Daniel', *RBK* 1 (1966), 1113–20.
—— s.v. 'Hands Gottes', *RBK* 2 (1971), 950–62.
—— Review of H. Buschhausen, *Die spätrömischen Metallscrinia und frühchristlichen Reliquiare*, in *Oriens Christianus*, 57 (1973), 196–7.
Wickhoff, F., 'Das Apsismosaik in der Basilika des hl. Felix zu Nola. Versuch einer Restauration', *RQ* 3 (1889), 158–76.
Wilpert, J., *Pittura delle Catacombe romane* (Rome: Desclée Lefebvre et C.i., 1903).
—— 'Wahre und falsche Auslegung der altchristlichen Sarkophagskulpturen I', *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, 46 (1922), 1–19.
—— *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi*, vols. 1–3 (Rome: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1929–36).
—— 'La chiesa Romana sul sarcophago di Tebessa', *RivAC* 11 (1934), 249–64.
Wilpert, J. and Schumacher, W. N., *Die römischen Mosaiken der Kirchlichen Bauten vom IV.–XIII. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg: Herder, 1976).
Wisskirchen, R., *Das Mosaikprogramm von S. Prassede in Rom; Ikonographie und Ikonologie*, JbAC Suppl., 17 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1990).
—— 'Zum Apsismosaik der Kirche Hosios Davis / Thessalonike', in *Stimuli, Festschrift für E. Dassmann*, JbAC Suppl., 23 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1996), 582–94.
Wisskirchen, R., and Heid, S., 'Der Prototyp des Lämmerfrieses in Alt-St. Peter. Ikonographie und Ikonologie', in *Tesserae, Festschrift für J. Engemann*, JbAC Suppl., 18 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1991), 138–60.
Zaqzuq, A., 'Nuovi mosaici pavimentali nella regione di Hama', in A. Iacobini and E. Zanini (eds.), *Arte profana e arte sacra a bisanzio* (Rome: Àrgos, 1995), 237–42.
Zaqzuq, A. and Piccirillo, M., 'The Mosaic Floor of the Church of the Holy Martyrs at Tayibat Al-Imam—Hamah, in Central Syria', *Liber Annuus*, 49 (1999), 443–64.
Zovatto, P. L., *Monumenti paleocristiani di Aquileia e di Grado* (Udine: Deputazione di storia patria per il Friuli, 1957).
—— s.v. 'Grado', *RBK* 2 (1971), 911–40.
—— *Grado antichi monumenti* (Bologna: Calderini, 1971).

INDEX OF VISUAL AND TEXTUAL SOURCES

This page intentionally left blank

PLATES



Fig. 1. Silver casket from Nea Herakleia, front, *Traditio legis.* Thessaloniki, Museum of Byzantine Culture



Fig. 2. Silver casket from St Lorenz, Paspels. Cathedral Treasury of the Diocese of Chur



Fig. 3. Capsella Brivio, lid, Raising of Lazarus and *Noli me tangere* (?). Paris, Musée du Louvre



Fig. 4. Capsella Brivio, front, Adoration of the Magi



Fig. 5. Capsella Brivio, back, the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace





Fig. 6. Capsella Brivio, rounded ends



Fig. 7. Capsella Africana. Vatican, Museo Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica



Fig. 8. Silver casket from Nea Herakleia, lid, Christogram, Alpha and Omega. Thessaloniki, Museum of Byzantine Culture



Fig. 9. Silver casket from Nea Herakleia, side, Daniel in the Lions' Den

Fig. 10. Silver casket from Nea Herakleia, side, Moses Receiving the Law



Fig. 11. Silver casket from Nea Herakleia, back, the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace





FIG. 12. Silver casket. Sofia, National Archaeological Museum

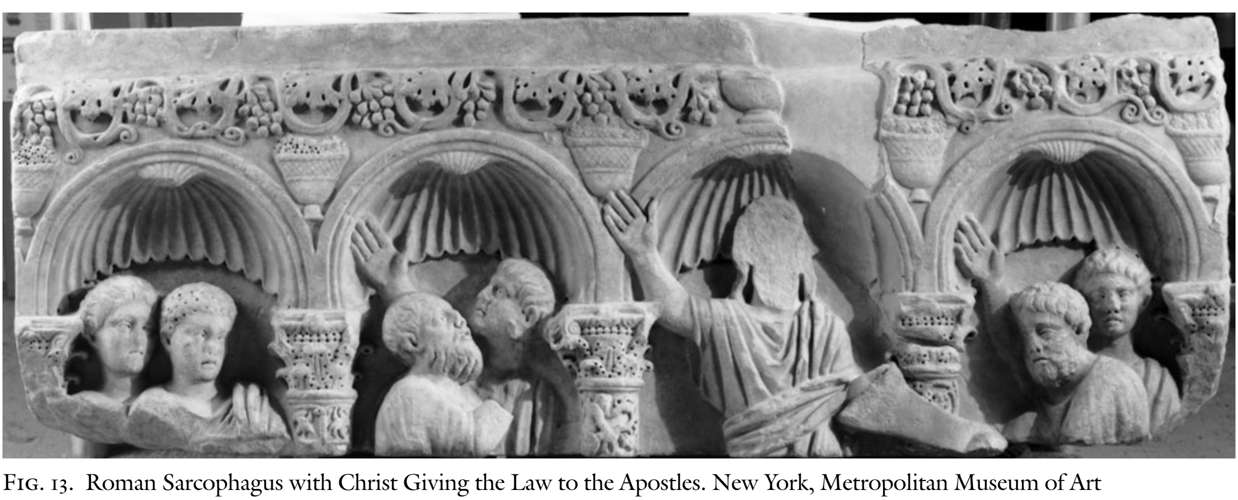


FIG. 13. Roman Sarcophagus with Christ Giving the Law to the Apostles. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 14. Dome mosaic, detail, north-west corner. Naples, S. Giovanni in Fonte



FIG. 15. Ivory casket from Samagher, lid, *Traditio legis.* Venice, Museo Archeologico Nazionale



Fig. 16. Marble reliquary of SS. Julitta and Quiricus, front, *Traditio legis.* Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile



Fig. 17. Marble reliquary of SS. Julitta and Quiricus, side, Adoration of the Magi



Fig. 18. Marble reliquary of SS. Julitta and Quiricus, side, Resurrection and Ascension



Fig. 19. Marble reliquary of SS. Julitta and Quiricus, back, Daniel in the Lions' Den



Fig. 20. Dome mosaic, Monogram of Christ. Naples, S. Giovanni in Fonte

Fig. 21. Sarcophagus from Trinquetaille, detail, Moses Receiving the Law. Arles, Musée de l'Arles et de la Provence antiques



Fig. 22. City-Gate sarcophagus, left side. Ancona, Museo Diocesano





Fig. 23. Silver casket from Nea Herakleia, corner, Moses and Peter. Thessaloniki, Museum of Byzantine Culture



Fig. 24. Slate model, fragment, Peter. Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum



Fig. 25. The so-called Three Monograms Sarcophagus. Vatican, Grotto of S. Pietro



Fig. 26. Detail of Fig. 25, the Prediction of Peter's Betrayal



Fig. 27. Detail of Fig. 25, Peter Captive



Fig. 28. Sarcophagus detail, Moses Receiving the Law. Tarragona, Museo Nacional Arqueologico de Tarragona


FIG. 29. Silver casket from S. Nazaro, general look from the front, Adoration of the Magi. Milan, Cathedral Treasury


FIG. 30. Silver casket from S. Nazaro, side, the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace



Fig. 31. Wall paintings, Bust of Christ, Christ between Adauctus and Felix, Peter Striking the Rock. Rome, Catacomb of Commodilla, cubiculum no. 5



Fig. 32. Casket of Proiecta, lid, bath procession. London, British Museum



Fig. 33. Casket of Proiecta, lid, portraits of Proiecta and Secundus



Fig. 34. Silver casket from Nea Herakleia, detail of figure 1, Christ.



Fig. 35. Column Sarcophagus. Vatican, Grotto of S. Pietro

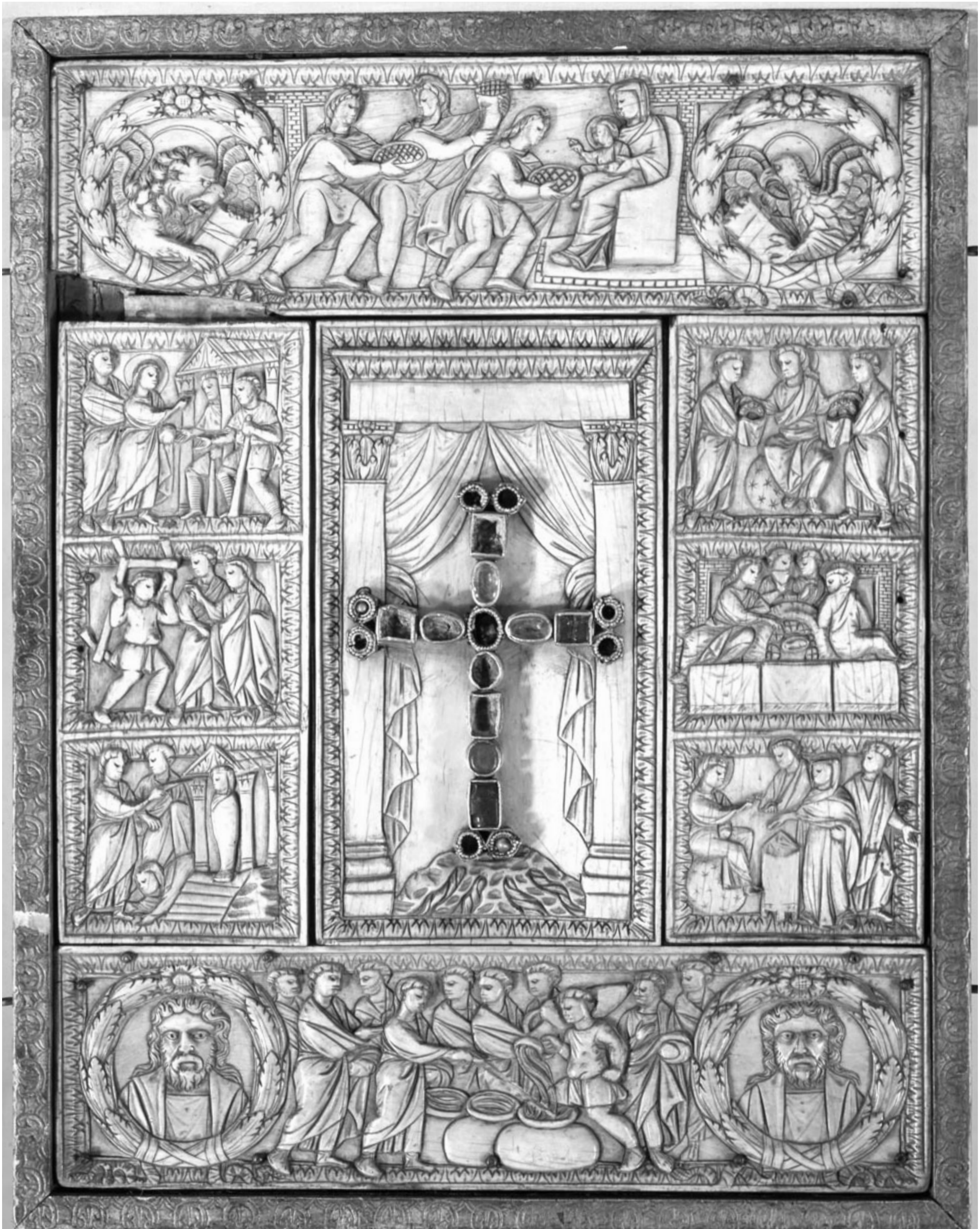


FIG. 36. Ivory book cover, front. Milan, Cathedral Treasury

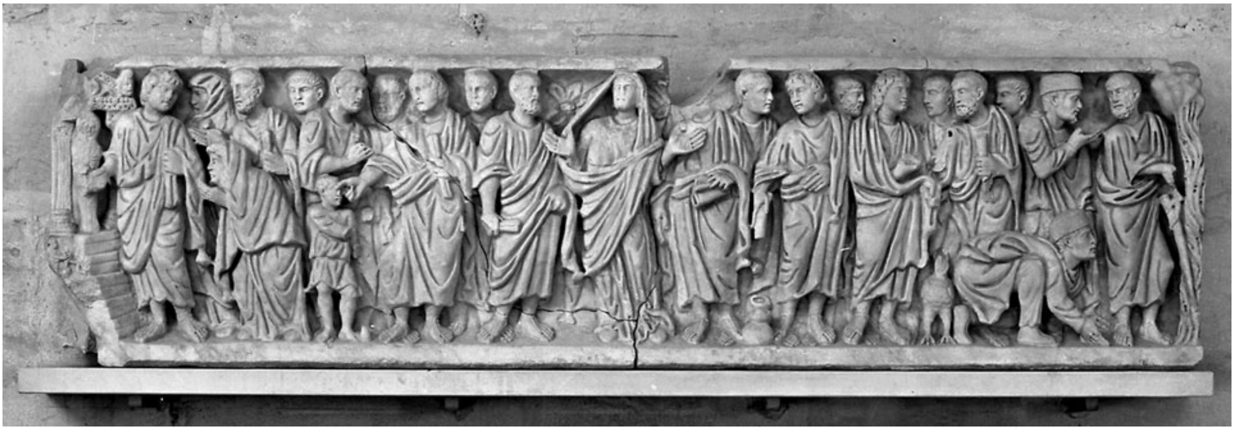


Fig. 37. Frieze Sarcophagus. Arles, Musée de l'Arles et de la Provence antiques



Fig. 38. Sarcophagus of the 'Two Brothers'. Vatican, Museo Pio Cristiano

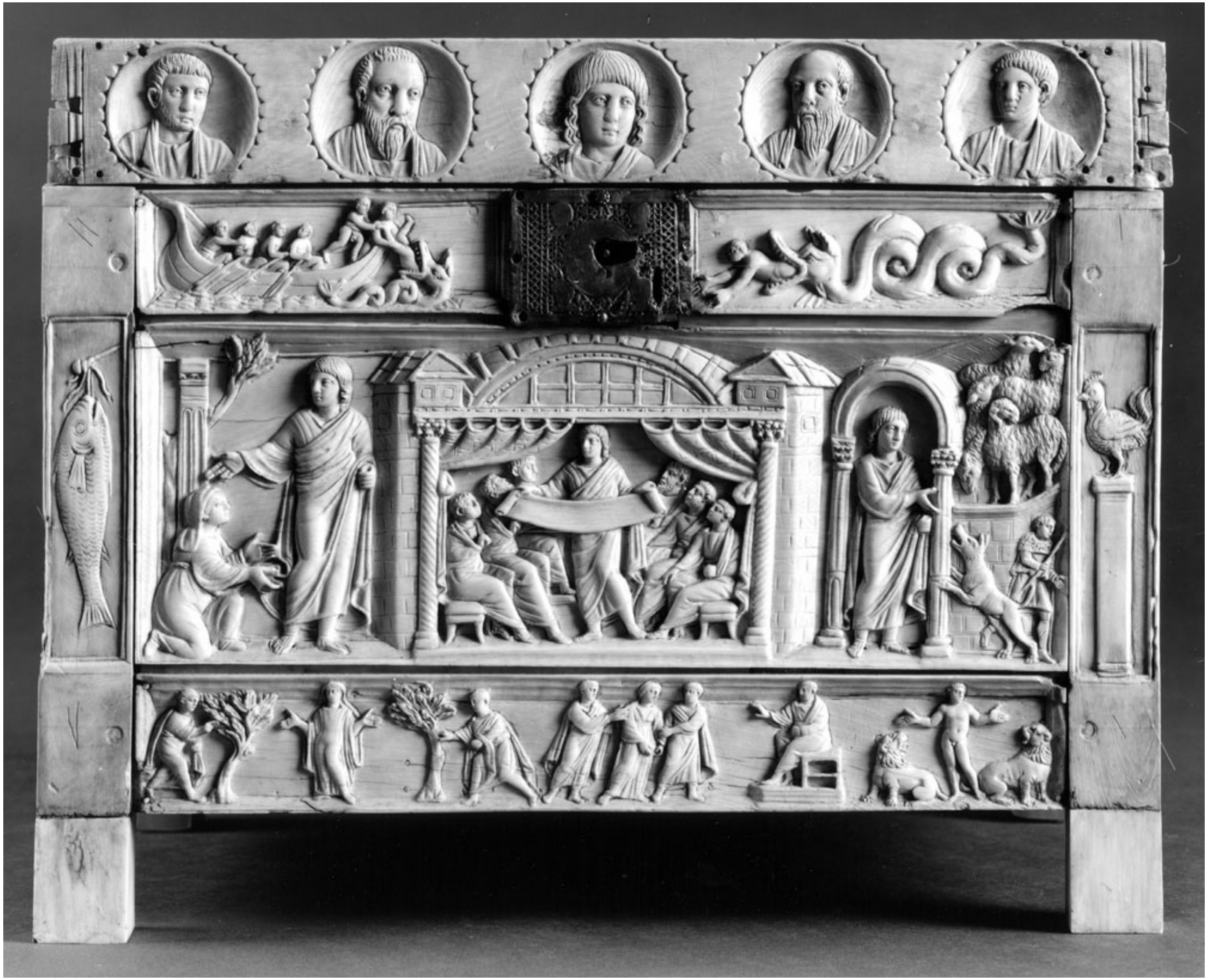


Fig. 39. Ivory casket, 'Lipsanoteca from Brescia', front. Brescia, S. Giulia



Fig. 40. Sarcophagus of Marcia Romana Celsa. Arles, Musée de l'Arles et de la Provence antiques



Fig. 41. Floor mosaic. Tayibat al-Imam, basilica



Fig. 42. Sarcophagus of S. Cassien. Marseilles, S. Victor

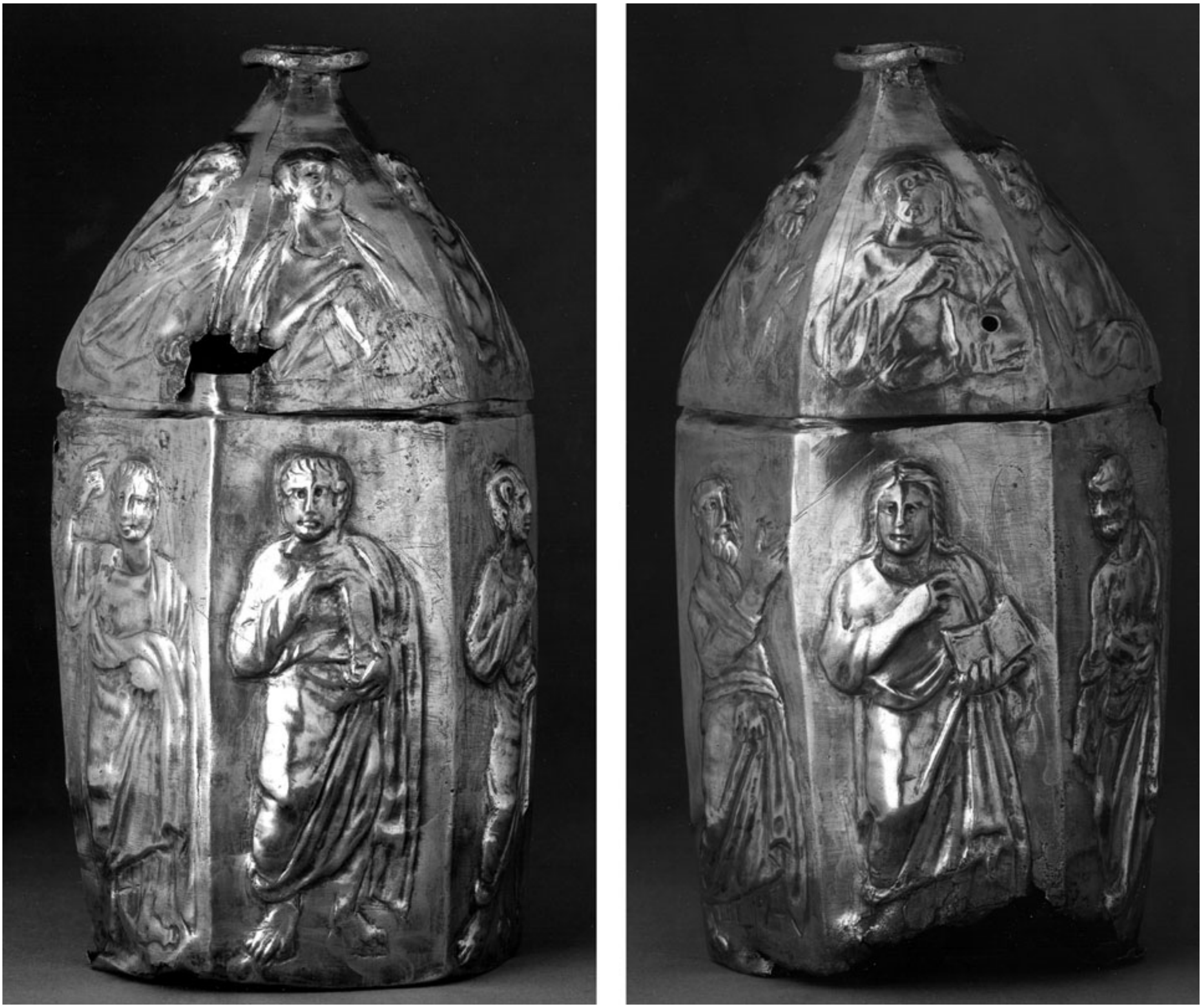


Fig. 43. Silver casket from Pula. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



Fig. 44. Capsella Africana, lid, Martyr. Vatican, Museo Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica



FIG. 45. Capsella Africana, side, Procession of lambs and Agnus Dei



FIG. 46. Capsella Africana, rounded corner, Architectural motif

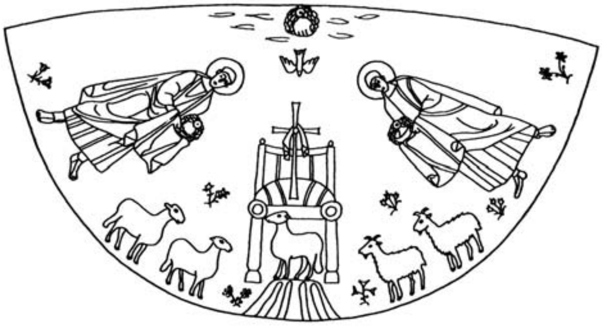


Fig. 47. Fundi, reconstruction of apse decoration by J. Engemann

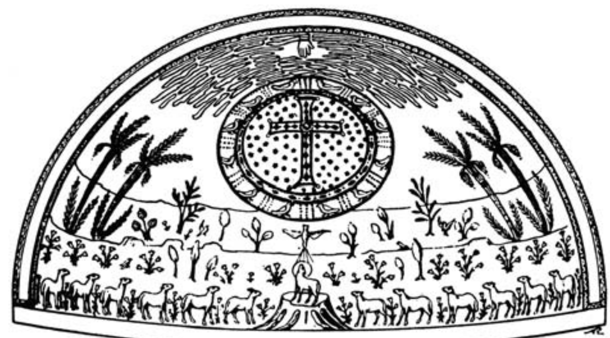


Fig. 48. Nola, reconstruction of apse mosaic by F. Wickhoff



Fig. 49. Rome, Catacomb of Callistus, Sketch of the wall paintings in the skylight niche of the crypt of S. Cecilia



Fig. 50. Silver and gold flask, Peter and Paul. Vatican, Museo Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica

Fig. 51. Wall painting after restoration. Naples, Catacomb of S. Gennaro in Capodimonte, arcosolium of Cominia and Nicatiola



Fig. 52. Wall painting before restoration. Naples, Catacomb of S. Gennaro in Capodimonte, arcosolium of Cominia and Nicatiola, detail: Januarius





Fig. 53. Mosaic, Portrait of Quodvultdeus. Naples, Catacomb of S. Gennaro in Capodimonte, arcosolium in Bishops' crypt



Fig. 54. Sarcophagus of Dardanius. Tunis, Musée Bardo

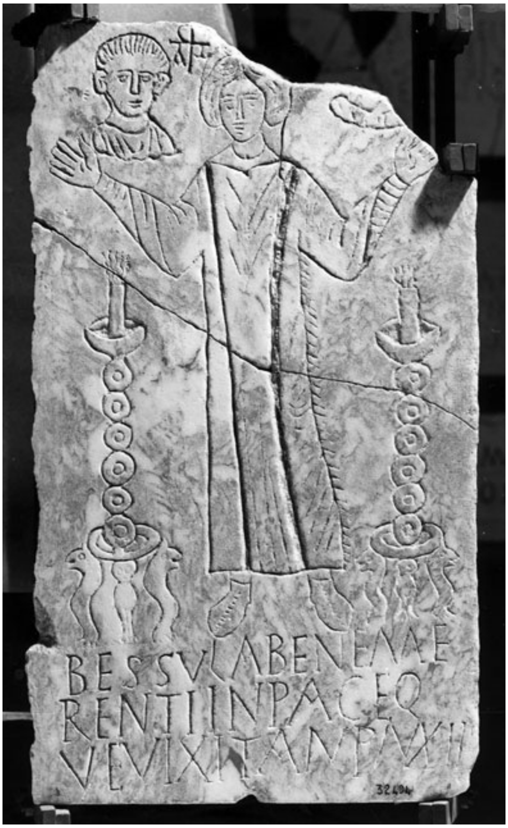


Fig. 55. Tombstone of Bessula. Vatican, Museo Pio Cristiano

Fig. 56. Sketch of the floor mosaic from Byrsa, and detail, personification of Carthage Paris, Musée du Louvre





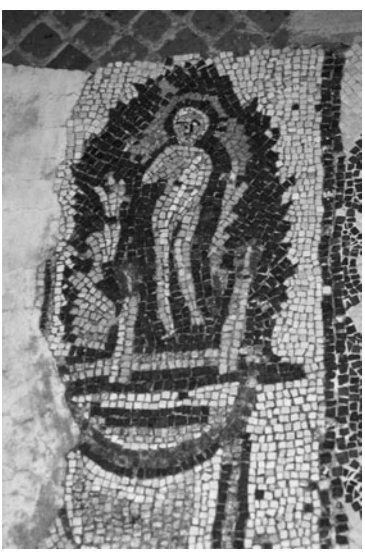


Fig. 57. Floor mosaic, detail, month of April. Ostia



Fig. 58. Painted tomb, Daniel in the Lion's Den. Kibbutz Lochamey Hageta'ot



Fig. 59. Roman tomb, wall painting of eastern wall. Silistra



Fig. 60. Wall painting, crux gemmata. Rome,
Cimitero di Ponziano



Fig. 61. Lost lead vase from Carthage



Fig. 62. Column sarcophagus. Marseilles, S. Victor



Fig. 63. Fragmentary palm tree sarcophagus in Marseilles, reconstructed by Wilpert

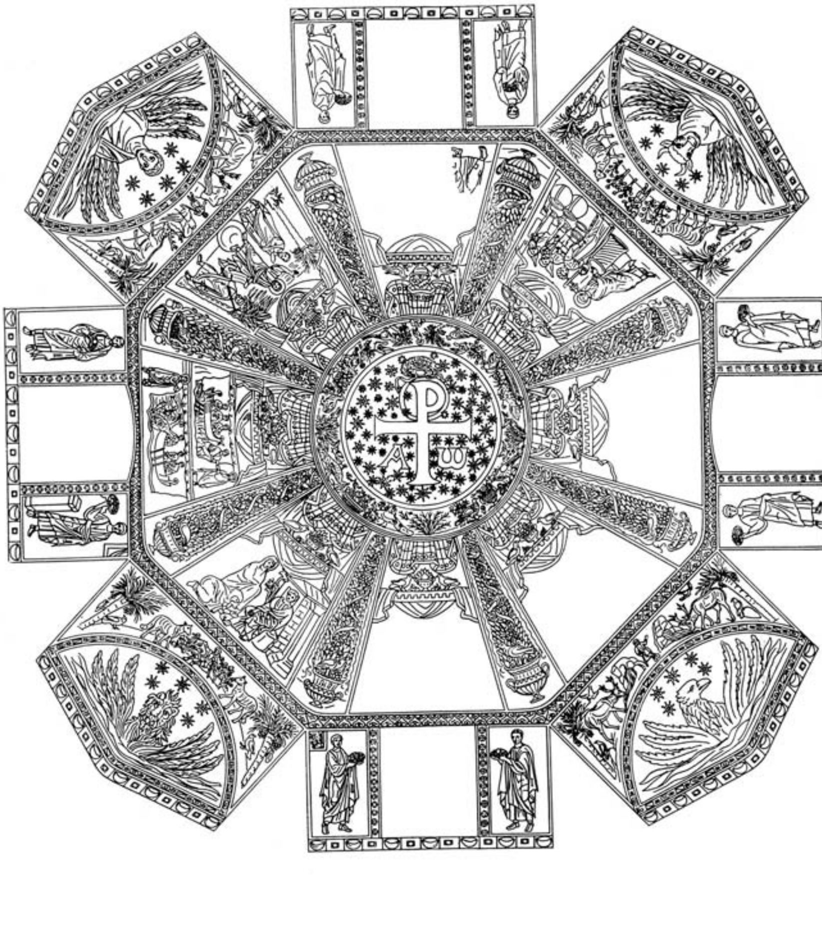


Fig. 64. Plan of mosaic. Naples, S. Giovanni in Fonte

Fig. 65. Drum mosaic, northwest corner. Naples, S. Giovanni in Fonte



Fig. 66. Drum mosaic, detail, martyr. Naples, S. Giovanni in Fonte





FIG. 67. Silver ewer. Christ Healing the Blind. London, British Museum



FIG. 68. Silver plate of Ardabur Aspar. Florence, Museo Archeologico



FIG. 69. Oval casket from Grado, lid, Adoration of the Cross. Grado, S. Eufemia, Treasury



FIG. 70. Oval casket from Grado, front, Christ, Peter, and Paul



FIG. 71. Oval casket from Grado, back, martyrs



FIG. 72. Oval casket from Grado, rounded end



FIG. 73. Silver plate from the Canoscio treasure. Città del Castello, Museo del Duomo

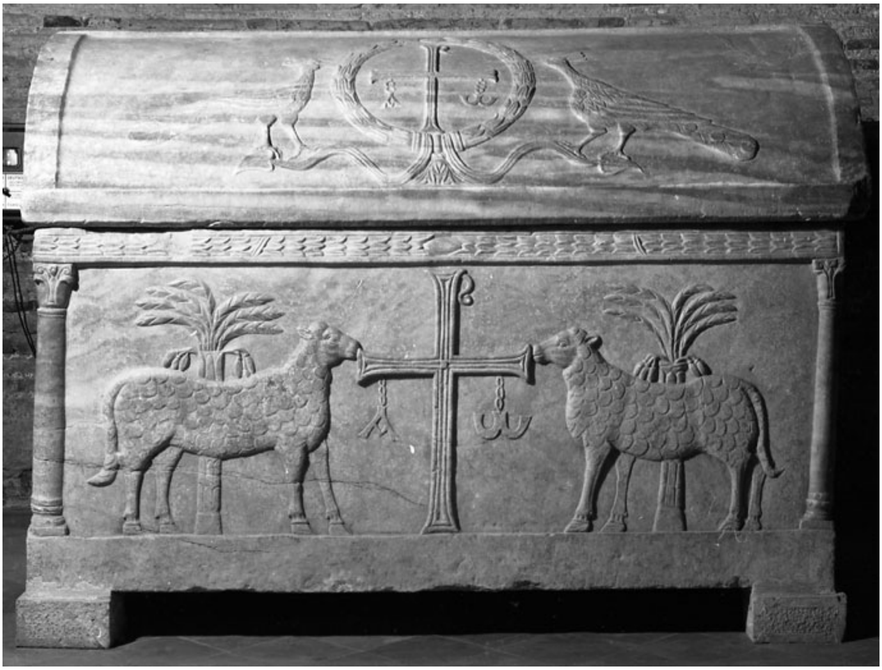


Fig. 74. Sarcophagus front. Ravenna, S. Apollinare in Classe



Fig. 75. Sarcophagus, right side. Ravenna, S. Apollinare in Classe

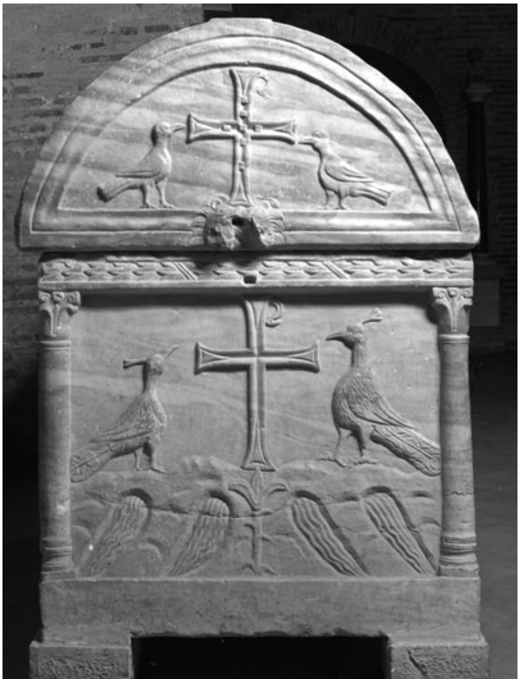


Fig. 76. Sarcophagus, left side. Ravenna, S. Apollinare in Classe



Fig. 77. Niche vault mosaic.
Albenga, baptistery



Fig. 78. Ampulla no. 10. Monza,
Cathedral treasury



FIG. 79. Silver casket from Chersones, front, Christ, Peter, and Paul. St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum



FIG. 80. Capsella Vaticana, front, Christ and Apostles. Vatican, Museo Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica



FIG. 81. Silver pitcher. Vatican, Museo Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica

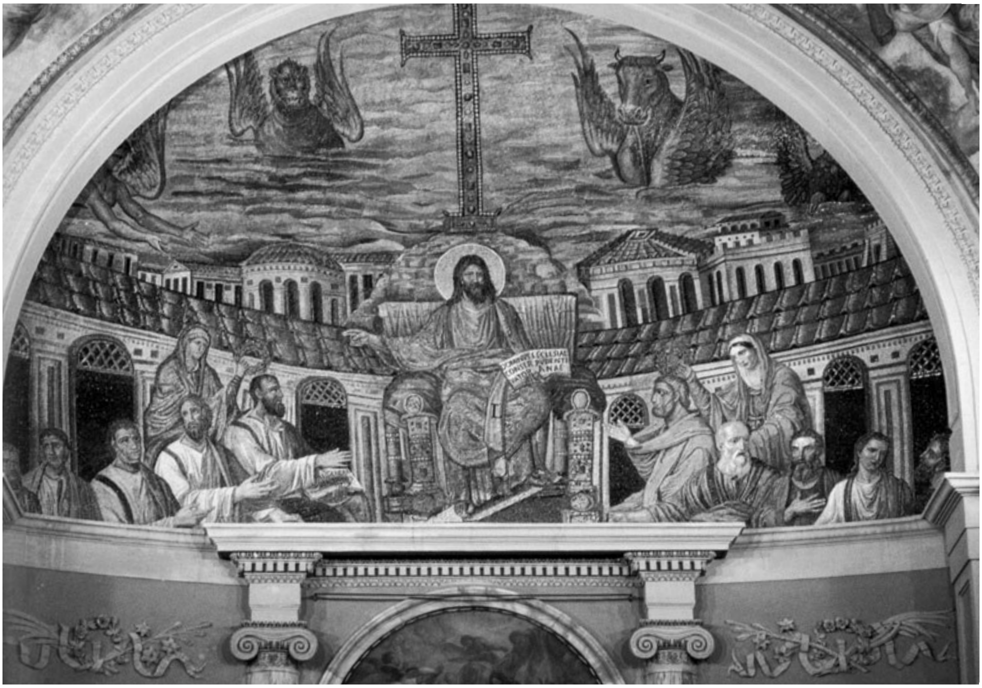


Fig. 82. Apse mosaic. Rome, S. Pudenziana

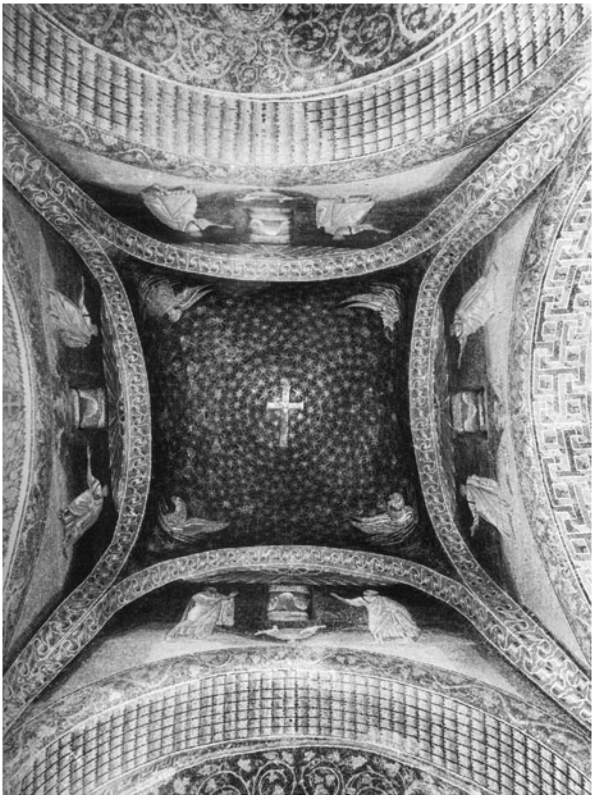


Fig. 83. View into vault. Ravenna, Mausoleum of Galla Placidia



Fig. 84. Oval casket from Grado, detail, Cantianilla. Grado, S. Eufemia, Treasury



FIG. 85. Ravenna, Archiepiscopal Chapel, view into vault



Fig. 86. Archiepiscopal Chapel mosaic, detail, bust medallions of Eufimia, Eugenia, Cecilia, Daria, Perpetua and Felicitas

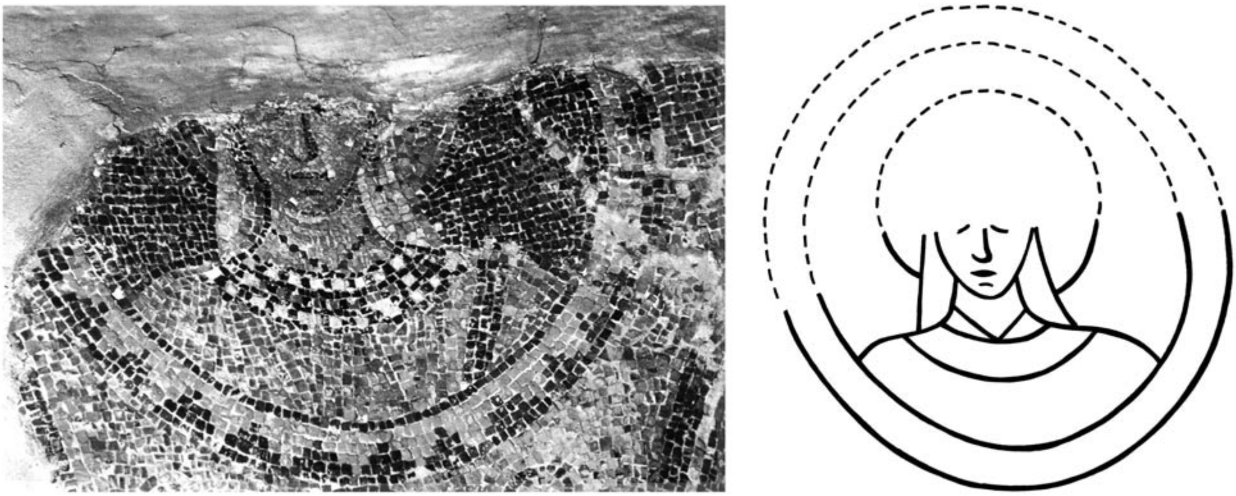


FIG. 87. Mosaic fragment, bust medallion. Vicenza, Martyrion

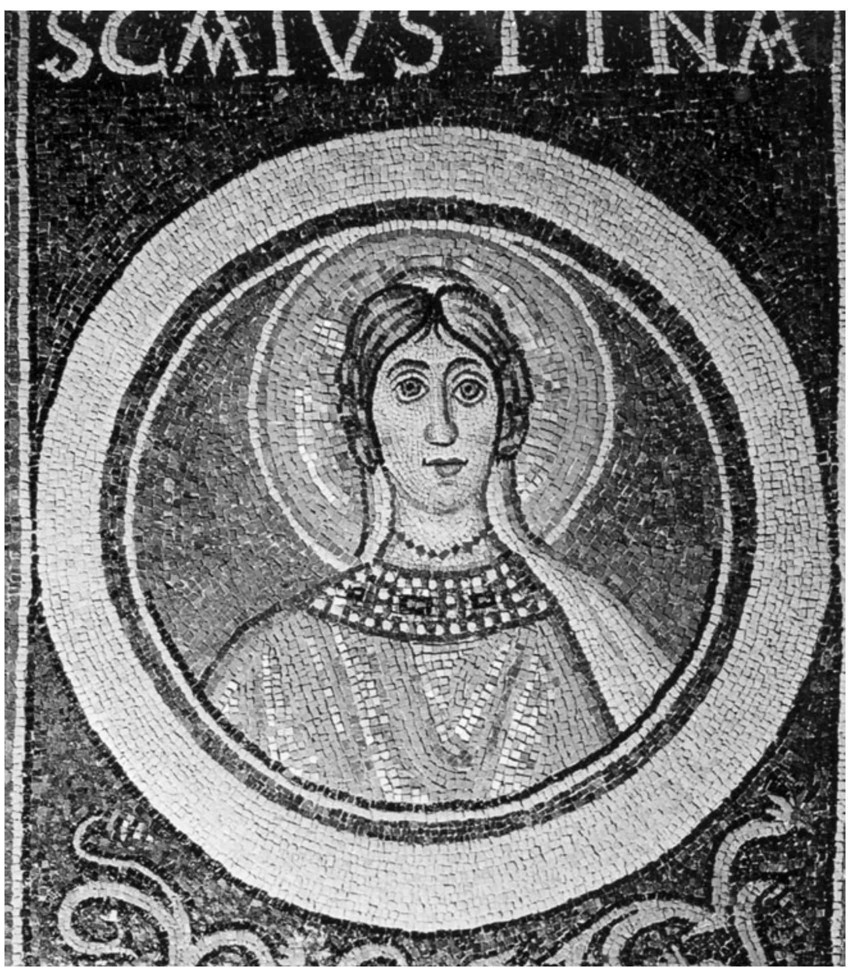


FIG. 88. Mosaic of triumphal arch, detail, bust medallion of Iustina. Poreč, Basilica Euphrasiana

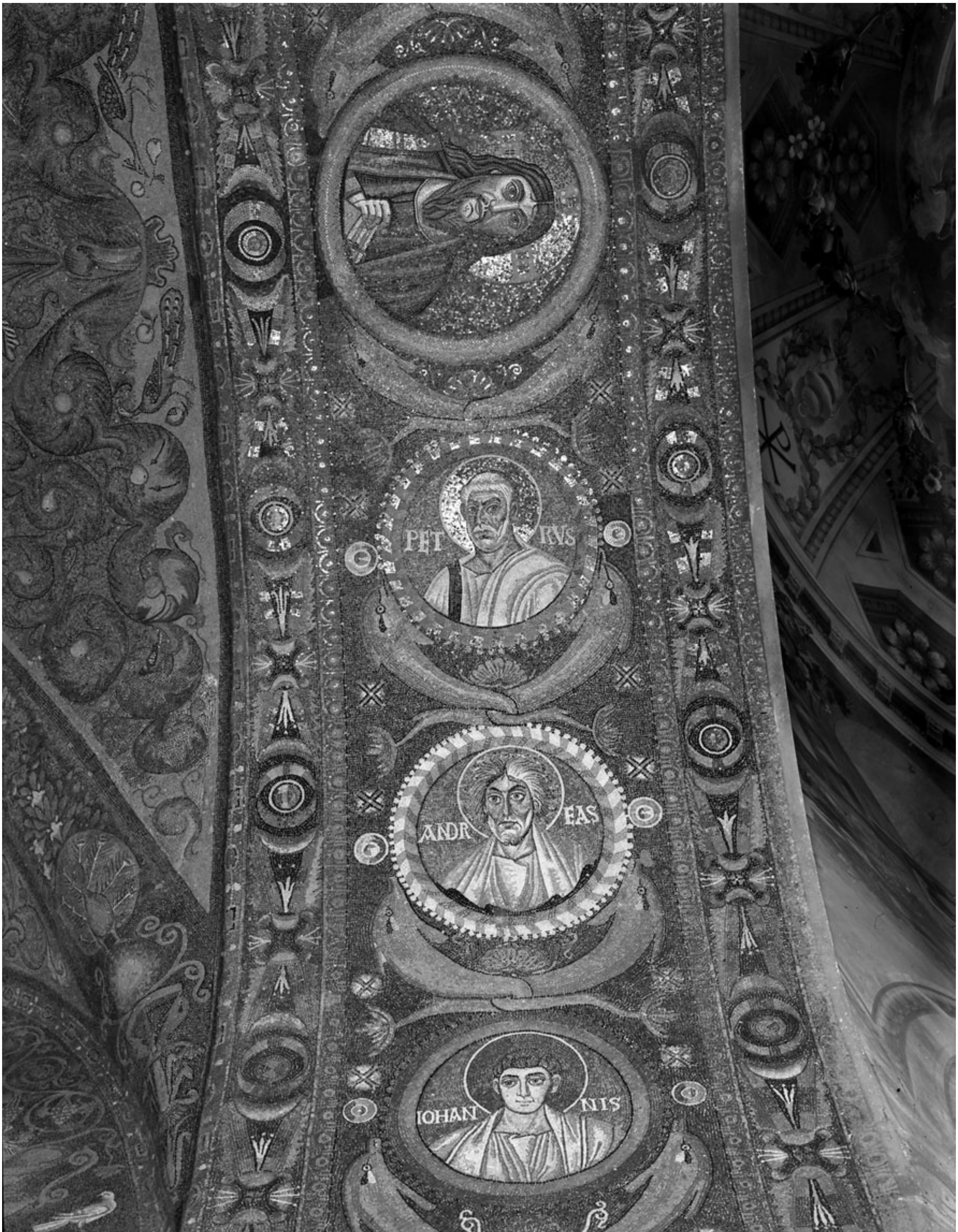


FIG. 89. Mosaic of triumphal arch, detail, bust medallions of apostles. Ravenna, S. Vitale

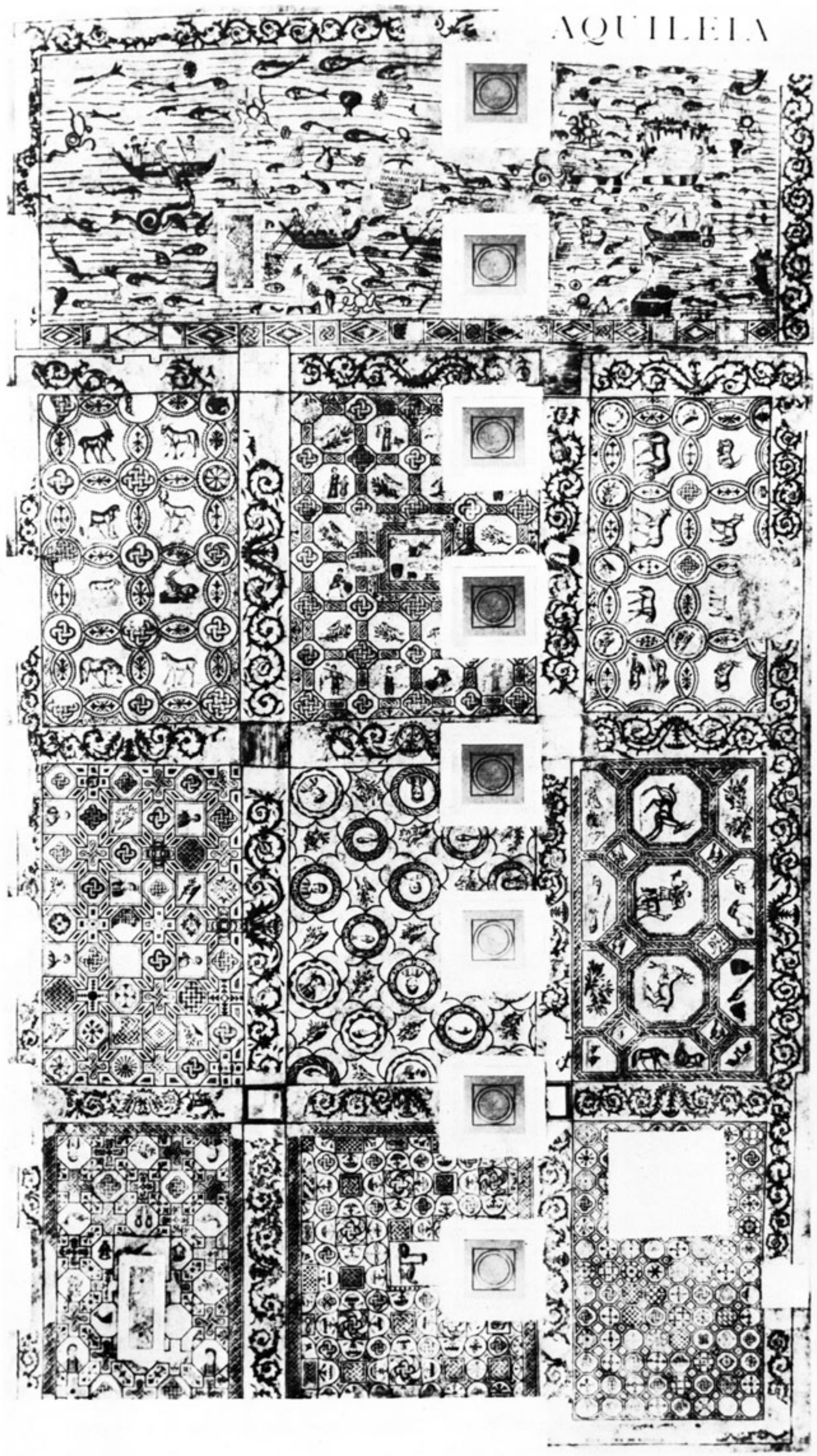


Fig. 90. Floor mosaic of the southern hall. Aquileia, Cathedral

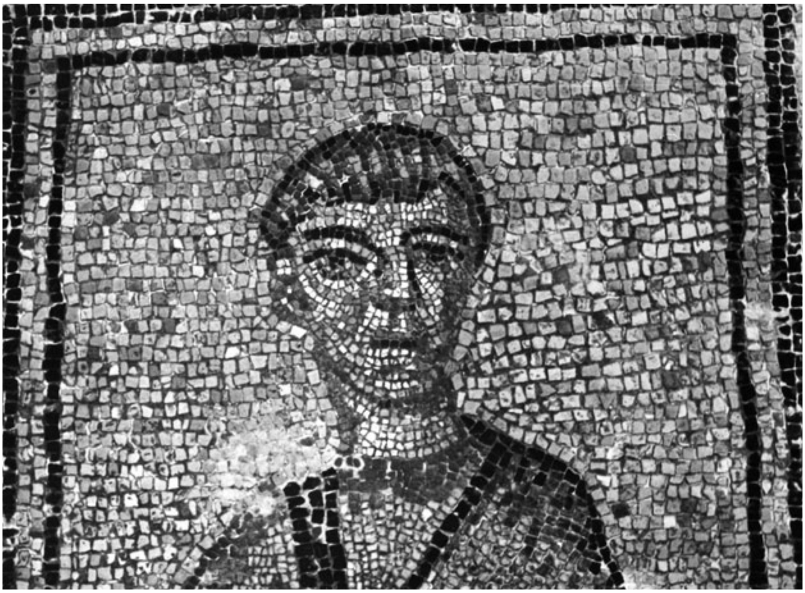


Fig. 91. Floor mosaic of the southern hall, detail of Carpet V. Aquileia, Cathedral



Fig. 92. Floor mosaic of the southern hall, details of Carpet VIII. Aquileia, Cathedral



Fig. 93. Oval casket from Grado, detail, young saint. Grado, S. Eufemia, Treasury



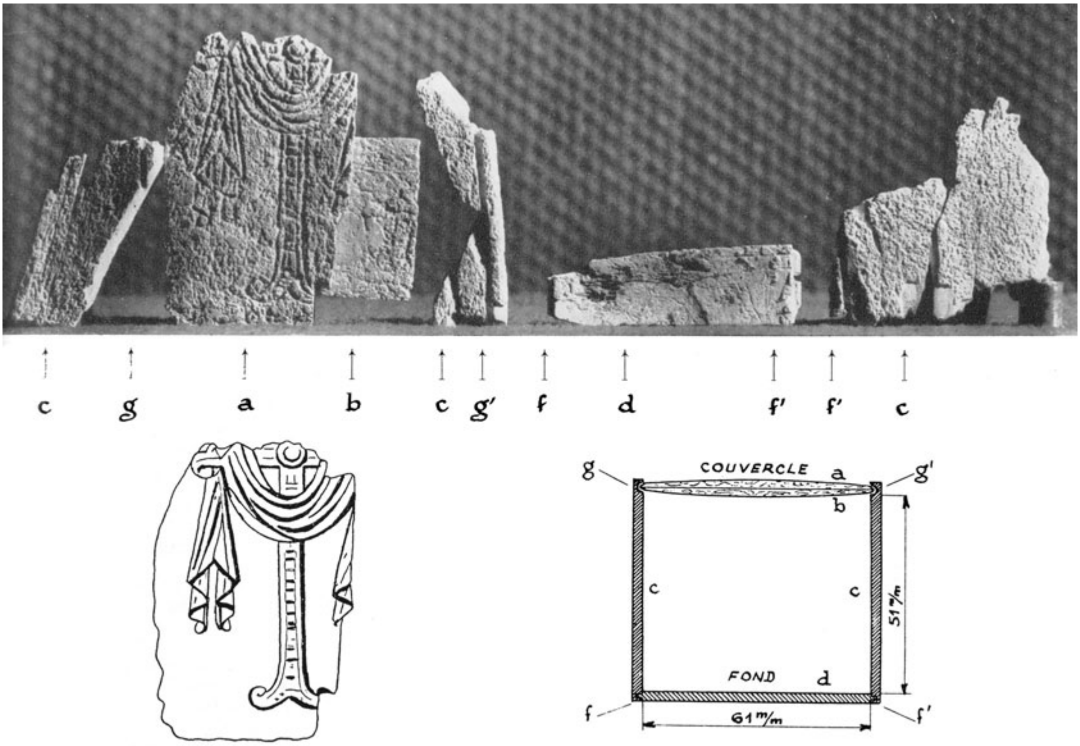
Fig. 94. Oval casket from Grado, detail, Peter



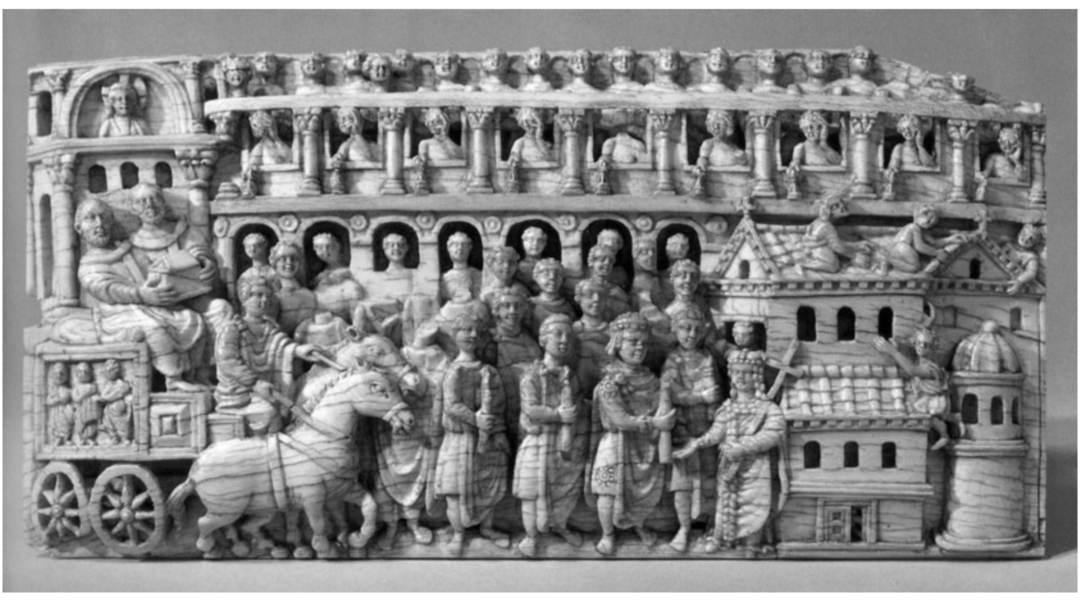
Fig. 95. Oval casket from Grado, detail, Paul



Fig. 96. Silver flask, detail, Paul. Vatican, Museo Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica



Fɪɢ. 97. Fragment of wooden casket from Aïun-Berich. Algiers, Musée National des Antiquités Classiques et Musulmanes



Fɪɢ. 98. Ivory panel, translation of relics. Trier, Cathedral Treasury